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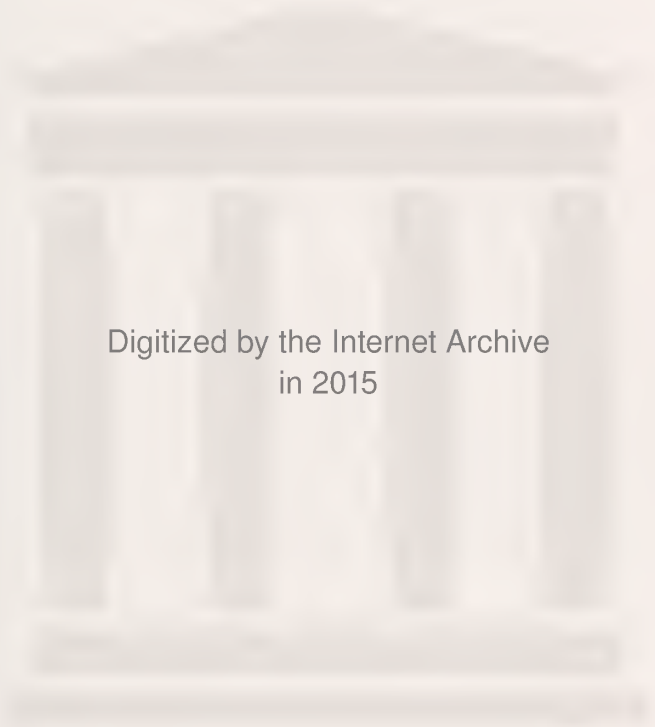
Memoirs of the Rev. Oliver Heywood,B.A
Chiefly extracted from his diary and other
unpublished manuscripts, by the Rev. Rich



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REV.D OLIVER HEYWOOD.

MEMOIRS

OF THE

REV. OLIVER HEYWOOD, B.A.

CHIEFLY EXTRACTED FROM HIS

Diary and other unpublished Manuscripts,

BY THE

REV. RICHARD SLATE.

ALSO, MEMOIRS

OF THE

REV. NATHANIEL HEYWOOD,

VICAR OF ORMSKIRK,

AND OF

THE REV. JOHN ANGIER,

Of Denton;

WITH NOTICES OF OTHERS.

THE WHOLE REVISED,

BY THE EDITOR OF MR. O. HEYWOOD'S WORKS.

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1827.

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MEMOIRS

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PREFACE.

THE name of OLIVER HEYWOOD has been long and deservedly held in high esteem, especially in the county of Lancashire, in which he was born, and in the West Riding of Yorkshire, in which he chiefly laboured. He was when living a man eminently honoured by God as the instrument of "turning many to righteousness" by his evangelical discourses, and apostolical labours in the cause of true godliness. Since his translation to the firmament of celestial glory, in which he shines as a star of the first magnitude, many sojourners in this vale of tears have been instructed and cheered in their passage towards the heavenly kingdom by the perusal of the works he left behind. He was called to bear his part in the common sufferings of those devoted ministers of Christ in England, who in the year 1662 relinquished their ecclesiastical benefices, and were prepared to lose all and suffer martyrdom itself, "rather than act contrary to conscience, or desert the cause of civil and religious liberty." The traditional accounts of some of those privations, and of the remarkable interpositions of Divine Providence on his behalf, have greatly contributed to the celebrity of his character. But his genuine piety, as well as his labours and sufferings, made him highly beloved by good men with whom he was per-

sonally acquainted, and has caused his memory to be venerated in succeeding periods of the church of Christ, by those to whom he has been known only by report, or by his edifying publications.

A "Life of O. HEYWOOD" was published many years since by the late, revered Dr. Fawcett, who when he wrote that account, possessed only two volumes of Mr. HEYWOOD'S private papers. Afterwards he sometimes entertained the idea of composing a new and an enlarged edition, having obtained much fuller information, but at last declined it on account of his other engagements and the increased infirmities of old age. A short time before his death, the venerable Doctor encouraged the writer of this Life to follow up the design, he having been favoured by Mr. HEYWOOD'S descendants and others, with upwards of twenty volumes of his private manuscripts.*

In compiling this Memoir, the writer has endeavoured to present to the world a faithful narrative of the Life of O. HEYWOOD: an unexaggerated record of his labours and sufferings in the cause of Christ; and a plain exhibition of the religious truths he received as "the glorious gospel of the blessed God," together with the influence of those truths on his public and private character. To render the narrative as interesting as possi-

* The Writer cheerfully embraces this opportunity of publicly acknowledging his special obligations to the late Rev. Dr. Fawcett, to Dr. Raffles, Liverpool, the Rev. Rich. Astley, Halifax, and Miss Heywood, Mansfield, for the loan of valuable MSS; to the late Rev. Dr. Ryland, Bristol, for extracts from the Northowram Register; and to the Rev. Mr. Hunter, Bath, for his useful aid in composing the Genealogical Table of the Heywood Family.

ble, it consists chiefly of extracts from Mr. HEYWOOD'S private papers, so that the work may be considered as a specimen of auto-biography. The manuscripts from which the selections have been made are the following:

"A Relation" of the most considerable passages of his Life from infancy till nearly the fortieth year of his age.

"Soliloquies" on various occurrences of his life and the state of his mind, from May 1653 to June 1682, a period comprising nearly the first thirty years of his ministry.

"Covenants" occasional and annual, from Feb. 1673 to 1680.

——— from June 1685 to February 1702.

"Returns of Prayer," from January 1672 to 1677.

——— from 1682 to 1702.

"Self-Reflections," from November 1677 to 1700.

"Experiences with Reflections," from February 1680 to 1702.

"Diary," from its commencement in 1666 to 1673.

——— from July 1677 to May 1680.

——— from May 1682 to July 1686.

——— from March 1695 to June 1699.

——— from October 1699 to within five days of his decease.

"Particulars respecting Coley, collected by O. HEYWOOD." A private Record of the members of the church at Northowram, containing also the church covenant, &c.

"The Heywood Family." Containing the Lives of Mr. HEYWOOD'S ancestors and pious relatives, written by himself. In this interesting volume, the history of the Family is continued to the present day by surviving relations.

The memoir, it is hoped, will be acceptable to the general Reader, particularly as it relates to one of the most eventful periods of English history. The Protestant Dissenter will be pleased to meet with some particulars concerning Mr. HEYWOOD'S companions

in tribulation and the general history of Nonconformity; he will be reminded what were the principles by which his forefathers and predecessors were influenced in separating from the Church of England, as by law established, and that English Dissent has not depended on the lives of the ejected ministers, but is founded on just and christian principles, and upheld by the mighty power of God; and he will learn to cherish and propagate those sentiments which animated those Confessors, and to which he is so much indebted for that measure of civil and religious liberty he now enjoys. Pious Christians of various denominations will be gratified with the simple relation of religious experience, given by one of the most eminent servants of God. They will probably admire his diligence, zeal, devotedness, and success as a minister; but when they follow him into the domestic scenes of his life, or the retirements of the closet, they will be able to converse with him as a fellow-believer, and more fully to sympathize with him in his anxieties and hopes, and sorrows, and joys as a Christian.

Had Mr. HEYWOOD'S manuscripts fallen into other hands, doubtless a memorial might have been raised to his memory more worthy of the distinguished subject whose life is recorded, and more deserving the attention of the public. Such, however, as it is, the Author commends it to the blessing of "the God of all grace," who sometimes accomplishes his purposes of mercy by the meanest instruments, the more effectually to promote his glory.

RICHARD SLATE.

MEMOIRS

OF THE

REVEREND OLIVER HEYWOOD, B.A.

PART THE FIRST.

Heywood Family—Birth of O. Heywood—His religious Convictions —Pious Education—Early Attachment to the Ministry—Entrance at the University—Spiritual Privileges there—Religious Society at Cambridge—Return Home—Settlement at Coley.

THE pre-eminent usefulness, which in almost every age distinguishes a few highly honoured individuals, furnishes ample scope for the pen of the biographer; for however closely they may imitate Him, who did not cause "his voice to be heard in the street;" their agency employed in producing the moral changes of a widely extended sphere cannot escape observation. When men have possessed a diversity of talents, which has occasioned a general interest in their favour, or when in the course of their lives, remarkable incidents have occurred, or when amidst dangers they have been peculiarly guarded, and wonderfully rescued by gracious and signal interpositions of Providence, biography in giving a portrait of them becomes interesting. The Rev. O. HEYWOOD comes before the public, with no ordinary advantages. The eventful period in which he lived, and the singular piety with which report has

adorned his character, as well as the unwearied efforts which, it is known, he made to do good, and the extensive usefulness which attended his exertions through the whole of his course, have created a predilection for him, and make it a gratifying task to trace his origin, and sketch the circumstances of his life.

"It is possible," says the pious subject of this memoir, "that we have sprung from some younger branch of the house of Heywood, of Heywood Hall, an ancient esquire's seat between Rochdale and Bury; for Mr. Robert Heywood, whom I knew, a pious, reverend, old gentleman, and an excellent poet, was wont to call my father cousin: but kinship grew out in process of time; and it is not very material of what family we are, so that we be of the household of faith, and have God for our father, Christ for our elder brother, and grace flowing in our spiritual veins, disposing us to act for God." If he could not boast of descent from the great and noble of the earth, he could rejoice in the number of his relations distinguished for their piety. His grandfather, Oliver Heywood, after whom he was named, "was renowned for his zeal, meekness, humility, love, and growth in grace;" though not brought to a saving acquaintance with the gospel before the sixtieth year of his age. His father and mother, Richard and Alice Heywood, were both esteemed truly pious before marriage, and were much influenced by their attachment to true godliness in their choice of each other. It was a great privilege to be the son of such parents, and a great honour to be the parents of such a son. They had nine children; John, who died in infancy, Hannah, Mary, John, Esther, Oliver, Alice, Nathaniel, and Josiah. Oliver Heywood was born March, 1629, in Little Lever, in the parish of Bolton, and was baptized at the parish

church, the 29th of the same month. Respecting his birth-place, he observes: "it hath long been famous for glorious professors of the gospel, and powerful preachers; and I take it as one of the great mercies of my life, that my nativity was in Goshen, under the star of Jacob's special influence."*

When a child, though under considerable restraints in his father's house, he complains of having indulged his depraved nature in sinful acts when he had opportunity. "When, says he, one of my sisters found fault with me for profane swearing, I replied, 'I had not sworn so much as a neighbour's child with whom I used to play;' so foolish was I, and ignorant. How fond was I of trifles! how backward to good exercises! how forward to sinful practices! how easily led to follow bad examples! I may say, 'childhood and youth are vanity;' yea, next akin to brutish stupidity and atheistical blasphemy. 'When I was a child, I spake as a child;' yea, rather like a devil incarnate. O the desperate wickedness of my deceitful heart!" But God, who had designs of mercy towards him, did not give him up to follow the corrupt inclinations of his heart. His pious parents, who kept a watchful and affectionate eye over him, frequently by love and awe checked his progress in sin, and these endeavours on their part were succeeded by powerful convictions of conscience from the Spirit of God. "Though some," he remarks, "can make punctual and particular state-

* The names of George Marsh and John Bradford have long been distinguished among the first and warmest friends of the Reformation in England, and occupy no mean rank in the noble army of martyrs. Thomas Lever, an eloquent and popular preacher in the reign of Edward VI, was the faithful companion of their lives, though not a fellow-sufferer with them in death. The two former were born in the adjoining parishes, and the lastmentioned in the same township as Mr. Heywood.

ments of the method, time, manner, and means of their regeneration, yet for my own part, I cannot give any such account of circumstances; though I am fully satisfied the Lord hath been at work with my soul both in childhood and since. Many a time have I gone alone and been distressed, then I have fallen off again to carelessness; but being awakened after backslidings, I have been so perplexed in spirit, that I have walked in the fields, sought where to weep, being ready to roar out in the bitterness of my soul, keeping up usually secret prayer and other duties. How often have I thought my condition in some respects to be worse than that of birds and beasts, trees and stones, because by sin, I am subject to eternal misery, of which they are not capable! Sometimes I durst not pray, lest I should take God's name in vain. Thus I have had my inward troubles from fears and doubts. That which hath put me to a sad stand in my self-examining work hath been, lest all those shakings should be the fruit of education and the common workings of the Spirit." These fears are the common experience of many who have been favoured with early religious instruction. Mr. Heywood was much encouraged under them, by hearing persons of whose conversion he was fully satisfied making the same complaints, by comparing his present experience and conduct with the past, and a persuasion that a man's safety does not depend on his being able to ascertain the precise period of his regeneration, but on his conformity to the image of Christ.

It was his happiness to have a mother willing and able to instruct him in the important concerns of his soul, and he thus affectionately and gratefully records her spiritual care over him: "I do with thankfulness to God remember that many a time my dear mother

did zealously and familiarly press upon me truths of the greatest concern: as the preciousness of the soul—the misery of man by nature—the necessity of conversion—the brevity of life—and the importance of eternity. She used to take me along with her to hear Mr. Horrocks of Dean Church, Mr. Harrison of Walmsley, Mr. Johnson of Ellinborough, and sometimes to Denton, to hear Mr. Angier. I confess I took much delight in waiting upon her abroad, but what my ends were I cannot tell, yet this I believe, that God disposed of it for much good to my poor soul." Being expected to give an account of the sermons he heard, he was accustomed to take notes at the time of preaching, and when his notes and memory failed, he looked to his kind mother for help. Sometimes she would converse with him when returning home, on the subject they had been hearing. By these means he was early habituated to pay attention to God's word, and early impressions of divine truth were made on his mind. How much he felt himself indebted to his pious mother as the instrument of his conversion, may be learned from what he says in her life, which he afterwards wrote: "I may say, I owe much to her as the instrument under God, of that saving good I at first received; and I hope I shall never forget the instructions of a mother." When only fourteen years of age, he was admitted into the company of some religious persons, among whom were several young people, who met once a fortnight during the winter evenings for spiritual conference and prayer, and at those meetings he was called on in his turn to exercise his gifts. Like Nicodemus, he evaded publicity as much as possible, lest he should meet with reproach from some of his former associates; but he received great encouragement from his parents and others. About this time, he first par-

took of the ordinance of the Lord's supper at Bolton, and experienced the comfort of it, in the peaceful and happy frame of his mind both at the celebration and afterwards.

His inclination towards the ministry of the gospel, and his desire to engage in that sacred office were early discovered. "When a gracious old woman," he says, "observed that in reading, I had a strong voice, she asked me, if I would be a preacher? my answer was, yes, if I may be a good one. I must confess, that since I had any understanding, I have held those in singular love and honour who have been pious ministers, and I have accounted those, wretched burdens of the earth and the worst of all men, who have been profane in that office; and I am now more confirmed therein, that a wicked preacher doth most hurt among men, and will have the greatest torments amongst lost souls." Perceiving the bent of his mind, his friends gave him all the advantages of learning, the neighbourhood furnished; but his progress at first was small. In reference to this subject, he observes, "I have sometimes wondered that I was never stopped by my masters, examiners, or parents, in consequence of my natural weakness and unfitness for that work, for none was more unlikely to make any figure in that calling than I, though my desire was so much carried out towards the great employment. Whatever my ends were, the Lord knows, but I have cause to fear they were mostly selfish. I used my utmost care to have my weakness covered, that I might not be detected and diverted to some other calling, which I could never bear to think of, and for which indeed in many respects I was not fit. I now see, my God designed me for greater works and higher ends than worldly and cumbering trade, to which my mind was always much averse." After he

had been with a variety of teachers, he was at length put under the care of Mr. Rudal, who excelled in nothing but literature, by whose instructions he was enabled to make considerable proficiency in human learning. "I look upon it," he says, "as an observable passage in my life, that I should in any degree suck the juice of the authors I read, and hear the instructions of masters that taught me, without woful contagion to my soul, from those pestilential vanities discoverable in both."

Having arrived at the eighteenth year of his age, and received the benefit of public and private instruction at home, it was resolved he should enter the University of Cambridge. Here he was placed under the care of Mr. Akhurst, who was considered a pious and exemplary man, though he afterwards embraced strange and extravagant notions, from which however he was reclaimed before his death. He was admitted at Trinity College July 9th, 1647; when Dr. Hill was the master. His excellent father, fully convinced of the importance of the step now taken, and aware of the dangers and temptations to which his youthful son would now be exposed, who had never before been long absent from a parent's eye, gave him very affectionate and suitable advice. "When my dear and honoured father," he says, "left me at Cambridge, he wrote down some serious and grave instructions, which he left with me, besides many others which he and my affectionate mother had frequently inculcated in their several conferences; they were such as these, 'My son, labour above all things to make your peace with God, by humbling your soul evening and morning, and oftener before him, that you may know that God hath begun a good work of grace in your heart. Be very frequent in reading the scriptures, with knowledge and under-

standing, that you may be a good scribe, armed against temptation, and able to convince gainsayers. Labour to get every day some sanctified thoughts, and spiritual meditations, which will be a heavenly life and walking with God, and write them in a book entitled, "The Meditations of my Youth." Take short notes of every sermon you hear, and write some fairly over for your loving mother. Often remember how short and precious your time is, and that upon it depends eternity. Keep a mean, as to society; neither be too solitary, lest you become melancholy; nor too much desire company, lest you be drawn aside; and, above all, beware of bad company, and seek out for good.' These rules I had often in my eye, and though, I confess I fell short in obedience, yet the outward part thereof I endeavoured to practise."

While at Cambridge he had opportunities of attending the powerful preaching of Mr. afterwards Dr. Hammond, preacher at St. Giles's church, whose ministry was abundantly blessed to the good, not only of his parishioners, but also of the students in the several Colleges. "I must confess," Mr. H. says, "my heart was many a time very much affected under the ordinances at St. Giles's, and I cannot but with thankfulness acknowledge him, (Dr. Hammond) as a profitable instrument of much good to my soul. Though the work might be wrought before, yet I am sure it was then much revived and cleared, and many mistakes removed. O with what a frame of spirit have I come from that place! I usually met with a suitable searching word, that warmed my heart. I also met with some ingenuous and gracious scholars, with whom I had intimate familiarity, and was furthered by them in the ways of God. I look upon it as an admirable mercy, that I was preserved from those wicked and idle com-

panions that might have prevailed for the utter undoing of my soul and body, for my nature was too pliable, and my heart inclinable to sin and vanity. Though I have cause to lament loss of time there, which should have been a harvest for laying in treasures of human and divine knowledge, that I might as a good householder, bring out things new and old for benefiting the souls of others, had I been as careful as I might and ought; yet it is a mercy that I lost not, but gained something for my soul; for I have observed many persons very hopeful at their first arrival there, that went away empty of goodness, and instructed in artificial contrivances of wickedness. All the time I was in the University my heart was much deadened in philosophical studies, nor could I, as I desired, apply my mind so closely to human literature, though I prize learning above all sublunary excellencies; I might have been more useful, had I improved my time better therein. My time and thoughts were most employed on practical divinity, and experimental truths were most vivifying to my soul: I preferred Perkins, Bolton, Preston, and Sibbs, far above Aristotle, Plato, &c."

It was the happiness of Mr. H. to enjoy the frequent company and conversation of several pious youths then at College, who often met for mutual edification in spiritual and experimental religion. Among these was the Rev. Thos. Jollie,* afterwards ejected from Altham in Lancashire, with whom he formed an endeared friendship, which continued without any breach above fifty years. They were companions through life, in tribulation, and labours, and both died in the seventieth year of their age, and within twelve months of each other. Mr. H. refers to the time they spent together at

* See Memoirs and Sermons of Mr. Thos. Jollie, in "Select Nonconformists' Remains," by R. Slate.

Cambridge, in a letter written to Mr. Jollie when they were not far from the end of their christian race, in which he says, "I do hereby give you my hearty thanks for your loving letters sent to me, which further endear my heart to you in friendship, which first commenced at Cambridge, where you were pleased to take notice of, and take into your society, such a simple raw lad as O. H. I oft reflect with comfort and gratitude on the sweet opportunities we had in your garret-chamber, and the heart-meltings under Mr. Hammond's ministry, with whom I conversed a fortnight before he died at Hackney, whom we shall never see more in this world."

With the design of lessening his father's burden of supporting him at Cambridge, he endeavoured to obtain a scholarship, and most likely would have succeeded, but for a fever which attacked him with such violence that for a time he was not expected to live. Great attention was paid by those about him, and by the blessing of God he was restored. In this sickness he solemnly vowed, that if it pleased the Lord to spare his life, he would devote himself entirely to the service of the sanctuary. God was gracious to him, and, in dependance on divine grace, he performed his vow with the earnest desire, as he observes, "of promoting the glory of God in winning souls to Jesus Christ." Having lost this opportunity of obtaining a scholarship, and his brother Nathaniel by this time being also sent to the University, he remained only till he had taken his degree of Bachelor of Arts, and then returned to his father's house. Here he continued his studies, waiting an opportunity of residing, for a season, in some pious minister's family, before he fully entered on the public work on which his heart was fixed.

He continued at home about half a year, and did not

venture to engage in preaching, that passage being much on his mind: "Who is sufficient for these things?" His first attempt to preach was in some obscure place near Preston, when on a visit to some friends in that neighbourhood, and, afterwards on a similar occasion at Carleton, and Skipton in Yorkshire. His uncle Francis Critchlaw, being on a visit to some friends at Coley, near Halifax, and finding they were destitute of a minister at that place, mentioned that he had a nephew, a young man just returned from Cambridge, who had lately commenced occasional preaching. Receiving a favourable account of him, the Chapelry deputed two persons to wait on him, and bring him over with them. Upon Mr. Heywood's return home from Skipton, he found them waiting for him at Bolton. He consented to go and supply for them one Lord's day,* and the people were so much pleased with his services, that before he came away, they began to express a desire for his settlement among them. Such a proposition being quite unexpected at that time, and a way being opened for his admission into Mr. Angier's family at Denton, to receive instructions in religious knowledge from that holy man, he was unable to give them an answer, but promised to supply them another day. Having a previous engagement to go into Wales, on a visit to his uncle Ralph Critchlaw, who resided at Wrexham, and was at that time a justice of the peace, several Lord's days intervened before he could perform his engagement at Coley. During this period another person had been engaged as a supply, with whom the people had nearly agreed for his continuance, only some refused their consent, expecting Mr. H. would fulfil his promise of a second visit. Accordingly he went, and they renewed their solicitations. Several days were set apart for

* This was about Michaelmas, in 1650.

seeking God by prayer, and for consulting friends on this important subject; and, on Nov. 26th, 1650, in the 22nd year of his age, he agreed to supply the place for six months.

At the close of this period, he was earnestly pressed to accept an invitation to Houghton Chapel, in Lancashire, to succeed good Mr. Horrocks, who was lately deceased. This situation had many attractions: it was not far from his native place and pious kindred; it was a place where his income would be greater than at Coley, and his esteemed and reverend friend, Mr. Tilsley, of Dean Church, was very urgent in persuading him to comply. But he had now been a sufficient length of time at Coley, to gain the affections of the people, and to entertain pleasing hopes of usefulness; and therefore concluded it was the will of God he should remain there. His decision was honourable to his character, a presage of his future conduct, and a happy earnest that as he sought the glory of God, and not his own ease and comfort in his settlement, so God would not refuse him the blessed reward he desired—the conversion of many souls to Christ. Had his people rightly estimated his conduct in his determination to abide with them, when so powerful a temptation was laid in his way, at a time too, when he could have complied without violating the principles of justice or honour, (his engagement with, them being fulfilled,) it would have disarmed them of that opposition he afterwards met with, from some of their number. If a minister cheerfully makes sacrifices for the good of his people, they ought in return to make his comfort and welfare objects of their peculiar attention.

PART II.

History of Coley—Ministers at Coley—Commencement of Mr. Heywood's Ministry there—His Ordination—Reflections on his Settlement at Coley—His Lodgings—Sickness—Disappointments—Marriage—Birth of his Son John—Parental Affection—Birth of his Son Eliezer—Death of Mr. Heywood's Mother—Preparation for Troubles—Neglect of the Lord's Supper and Discipline at Coley—Ordinances restored—His Joy on the Occasion—Opposition—Public Calamities—Cheshire Rising—Birth and Death of Mr. Heywood's Son Nathaniel—Conduct of Mr. Heywood's Opponents—His Invitation to Preston—The Restoration of Charles II—Death of Mrs. Heywood—A faithful Servant.

COLEY chapel, to which Mr. Heywood was unanimously invited, as the scene of his stated labours, and in the neighbourhood of which he spent above fifty years in the service of his Master, is situated in the parish of Halifax. The attachment a person naturally feels to a place in which he has spent the principal part of his days, and where he beholds on every hand the memorials of various circumstances connected with the most interesting seasons of his life, induced the subject of this memoir to draw up a paper, entitled, "Particulars respecting Coley, collected by O. Heywood." The former part was written in the year 1674, and the latter, in 1695. The following are extracts:—

"Tradition tells us, there were two sisters, never married, that lived at Priestley Green, having large estates, who built the two chapels, Coley and Lightcliffe, a mile distant from each other, and both standing in Hipperholme township; but in what year, or by what

inducements they were influenced I cannot learn. Being built in popish times, possibly they were founded in superstition; but the work was good, and it is not our province to judge of motives at this distance. This I take notice of, there has been a vast discrepancy between these two chapels, considering their vicinity, both as to the ministers of the word and the manners of the inhabitants. They have scarcely ever had a good minister at Lightcliffe, since the Reformation, except one Mr. Blanks, about sixty years ago; and in the late times of liberty, Mr. Cudworth was about a year with them, but they hated him and soon got him out: the rest have been generally loose, tippling preachers; and like priest, like people. The whole chapelry is much addicted to profaneness, so that Lightcliffe and Oakenshaw have been called Sodom and Gomorrah, and I have scarcely ever known any serious people live there. When I have gone by the place, I have often thought of the sons of the prophets, saying to Elisha, concerning Jericho, 'Behold, I pray thee, the situation of this city is pleasant, as my lord seeth: but the water is naught, and the ground barren,' 2 Kings ii. 19. This I may apply to the waters of the sanctuary and to the people, bad and barren, otherwise the place is very pleasant and fruitful. Comparing these two chapelries, so near together, I have thought of Amos iv. 7, 'I have caused it to rain upon one city, and caused it not to rain upon another city: one piece was rained upon, and the piece whereupon it rained not, withered.' I could tell sad stories from my own knowledge about ministers and people at Lightcliffe, but my work is not about them, therefore I shall forbear."

"To return to Coley, which has its name from Coley-Hall, near an ancient seat of the tenure commonly called, St. John of Jerusalem. All the houses

of this tenure are to have a cross set up on the end of them, or else they are fineable at the court. Coley-Hall was a priory in popish times. The ministers at Coley chapel, since the Reformation in Queen Elizabeth's days, were the following:"—

"1. After a reader called Sir Adam, Mr. Nichols commenced preaching: he was a good scholar and an able expositor, and did good by catechising and expounding. His successor acknowledged he had followed him in two places, and that he had laid a good foundation of knowledge among the people; yet he was addicted to drinking and company. He would say to his companions, you must not heed me except when I am three feet above the earth, that is, when I am in the pulpit. He removed from Coley to Thornton chapel, in Bradford parish. 2. The next was one Mr. Gibson, a pious man and an able preacher. How long he was minister here, I cannot tell; he left some plate to the chapel with his name on it. 3. Mr. Ralph Marsden was a godly, orthodox, and zealous minister, but much opposed by several professors in this place, who never rested till they got him out. He then became curate at Ashton-under-Lyne, and was followed by some heavy afflictions in the latter end of his days. 4. After Mr. Marsden there were several that remained a very short time. The next settled minister was Mr. Robt. Hurst, born at Ribchester. His brother was vicar of Leigh, and was turned out by the act of Uniformity, and afterwards lived at Macclesfield in Cheshire. This choice young man was at Coley, seven or eight years, but fell into a consumption, took his solemn leave in the chapel, and told the people he had spent his strength with them, and was able to preach no more: there were many tears shed at parting.

He pined away, had his mother with him, whose breasts he sucked as long as he was able, and then died, leaving a sweet savour behind him, both of sound doctrine and holy life: he was much lamented. 5. Mr. Denton succeeded. He was a good minister of Jesus Christ, affluent in his worldly circumstances, and had several children. He continued here about seven years; times were sharp, the bishops being in their height. In his time came out the book for sports on the Sabbath days. He saw he could not do what was required, feared further persecution, and therefore took the opportunity of going into New England. He returned to Old England about 1659, and lived and died in Essex. In his time the chapel at Coley was enlarged. 6. Came Mr. Andrew Latham, a genuine Christian, born near Prescot in Lancashire: he was but a young man, yet very hopeful and pious. By his marriage he gave offence, but he soon and suddenly lost his wife. The first time he preached after her death was from 1 Cor. vii. 29, 30. Then came on the wars, and he fled with others when the Earl of Newcastle lay with his forces about Halifax. He settled at Bury in Lancashire, at which place he died. On his deathbed, he earnestly desired to see one seal to his ministry: and God at last brought one, a poor woman in Bury parish, who gave him great content and made him bless God for that mercy. He was congregational in his principles before he died, though he had been otherwise; but he never gathered a church, nor acted as an Independent: he was a holy man and a useful instrument. I received the Lord's supper from his hands at Bolton church in the Presbyterian way, not long before he died, and methought his garments shone as he came to me. He was a plain and powerful preacher: I be-

lieve God did much more good by his ministry than he knew. I suppose he was at Coley nine or ten years. 7. Came Mr. Giles Clayton from Altham in Lancashire, a holy man and serious preacher; though not of eminent parts, yet desirous of doing good. He was between forty and fifty years of age when he came, and continued four or five years. He died and was buried at Halifax. He was succeeded at Altham by good Mr. Jollie: he made some attempts to set up discipline here, and to enjoy the sealing ordinance, but could not effect it, though he was resident in the proper season for that purpose, in the time of the Long Parliament. 8. The next was Mr. Cudworth, a good scholar, a holy man, (as was hoped) and a good preacher; but so exceedingly melancholy, that it obscured his parts. He was not at Coley above a year. Then came this poor, inconsiderable worm, and God took me from my public work by the Act of Uniformity."

"There were several attempts to bring a preacher to Coley after I was turned out: and some have been for a season. 1. Mr. Fisden. 2. Mr. Pattison, whose real name was White. 3. Mr. Hoole, who continued there about five years. 4. Mr. Moore, of Baildon, who staid about half a year. 5. Mr. Furman, who remained about a year. 6. Mr. Bramley, a young man born at Sowerby, but he soon went away. 7. Mr. Andrew Lothian, a Scotchman: he came Aug. 9, 1674, and died Dec. 6, 1675. 8. Mr. Hovey came May 1, 1676. He was a man of ability, and a high conformist, but took his leave Nov. 27, 1681. 9. Mr. Lambert, formerly lecturer at Halifax, supplied for them at Coley about six months: when some requested Dr. Hook to let them have Mr. Hoole of Bradfield; but he would not consent, saying, he would rather have Mr. Heywood. They said with all their hearts; and some

came to desire me to preach;* but my friends did not judge it expedient. 10. Mr. Timothy Ellison born at Prescot, whose parents used to receive my brother to preach in their house: he came July 23, 1682, and continued to this present year 1695. He prays well, preaches zealously, and it is said, lives honestly. The people flock to him and are much affected. Blessed be God! O that he may be of some use to them."

The secret, invisible, but powerful hand of God was engaged in bringing Mr. Heywood to Coley. "I cannot but wonder," he says, "what the heads and members of this congregation saw in me, so affectionately to desire, and unanimously to choose a young lad of twenty-one years of age to be their minister, that I do not remember the opposition of any one person, rich or poor, to my election, though another had been tampered with between my first supplying and my engagement with them. I cannot also but wonder how my heart came to be persuaded to it, considering my aversion to settle in this hilly country; but God led me with a strong hand and deceived me into it, and I am willingly deceived, though contrary to the solicitations of another people in Lancashire to whom I was more inclined." Conscious of the vast importance of the work in which

* This was not the only time that attempts were made to obtain his return to Coley Chapel. "Jan. 10, 1676," he says, "there was a meeting of the townsmen, at which time, E. S. had prepared a paper, and presented it to the inhabitants, expressive of their desire that I might preach at the chapel He requested those present to subscribe it, which they did very freely, some of whom have neither heard nor owned me almost these fourteen years. This is wonderful, whatever may be the issue. They now profess they will either have me or none at the chapel, and if I may not preach it shall be vacant. This is strange all things considered, that they should own a poor, despised, persecuted minister, cast out as a vessel wherein is no pleasure. Blessed be God."

he had engaged, and deeply sensible of his insufficiency for the right and successful discharge of the duties of the ministerial office, he entered upon it with trembling steps. His conduct at this season peculiarly commends itself to the imitation of young ministers. He was very earnest and frequent in his addresses to the God of all grace for those supplies which he needed. When walking abroad, his heart was often engaged in devout ejaculations, so that he called many places, "Bethels, Peniels, or Bochim." When in his study, he was very diligent in laying up a store of useful knowledge, and very attentive to his preparations for the pulpit. Nor did he neglect the important work of heart-preparation. Many were his tears and prayers and self-examinations before he ascended the pulpit, and having been much in communion with God in secret, no wonder that his face shone when he appeared before the people. The first-fruits of an abundant harvest of souls were given him to encourage him in the commencement of his work.

When he had been employed at Coley nearly two years, he thought it his duty publicly to recognize his pastoral and ministerial engagements by the solemn rite of ordination. The Presbyterian mode of church government was then established in England, and he made application to the second classis of Lancashire ministers who usually assembled at Bury. The reasons of his application to them in preference to others were, because Bury was not far from his native place, and because the ministers were those to whom he was personally known, and for whom he entertained a great esteem. The day appointed for this solemnity, was Aug. 4, 1652; and the persons engaged in that work were the Rev. John Tilsley, of Dean Church, Wm. Harpur, Peter Bradshaw, Jon. Scholefield, of Heywood Chapel, Tobias Furniss, of Bury, Thos. Pyke, of Rat-

cliffe Church, Henry Pendlebury, of Holcome Chapel, Rich. Goodwin, of Bolton, and Robt. Bath, of Rochdale. He had previously been carefully examined as to his literary attainments, had disputed the question, An Pædobaptismus sit licitus? whether infant baptism be lawful? He had also preached before his examiners on Rom. x. 15, "How shall they preach except they be sent?" It was a day much to be remembered, and the recollection afforded him pleasure a long time after. "It hath often," he says, "been much satisfaction to my spirit in the midst of my troubles, to review my regular entrance into the ministry. I had the unanimous call and consent of my people, manifested by subscribing their names; and some aged men sent as delegates to represent the whole, accompanying me to Bury, where by fasting and prayer, and imposition of hands, I was set apart to the important office. I confess I had many sad thoughts and fears about the time of my ordination, not so much respecting the the temporary exercises required as preparatory thereto; but principally, my great insufficiency for that high and holy calling. Such an impression it had on me, (though I knew not the tithe of duties and difficulties of what I have since felt,) that I should have been completely deterred and discouraged therefrom, had not the outward and inward call from heaven, the concernment of God's glory and the church's necessity, the intentions of my parents, the convictions of my conscience, the dedication of myself to God by former vows, and my putting my hand to the plough, prevailed with me and pressed me to this service. God was pleased to conduct me comfortably through the usual exercises, mightily to enlarge the hearts of his people in prayer, and graciously to afford assistance to all that were employed in the work of that day. Mr. Tilsley excellently

and profitably gave the exhortation; and there were many tears poured forth."

Having thus solemnly, publicly, and fully entered on his pastoral work at Coley, Mr. H. reviewed his situation, and the providences that led to that connexion in the following manner: "O what riches of grace are here! that thou, who art one of the greatest of sinners and least of saints, not worthy to be called (much less to be) a saint, should be a minister, an ambassador of the King of kings, and be entrusted with the most precious pearl that was ever communicated to the sons of men! But how camest thou into so high an office? Art thou not an intruder? I hope not. I came into it in a lawful way, according to God's word. Though the window was open, and every one might enter that had a mind, yet I crept not in thereat; but entered by the door of an internal call, inclining, disposing, and, in some measure, qualifying me thereunto; and also of an external call from the church, moving, selecting, and designing me for that function. Here is mercy upon mercy! To be a minister, and a lawful minister of the gospel, to have to deal with souls (in an authoritative way) as having commission from Jesus Christ, my Lord and Master! Well, but where art thou? Amongst an affectionate people, from whom thou hast had a general call and invitation. They are a willing people, ready to lay out themselves according to their power. They are generally an intelligent people too, at least, in comparison with many in other places: the foundation is laid, and thou hast to build thereupon. Ah, who am I to succeed so many skilful and faithful predecessors? They are a tractable and attentive people that give good heed unto the word, and do many things by way of outward conformity. Thou mightest have been

amongst a humoursome, self-conceited, and presumptuous people, that would have shown their teeth against thy sharp and plain reproofs. Though thy means are short, compared with others, yet thou hast a better supply by thy people's due respect and warm affection. I had rather have my people's hearts enlarged towards me, than their purses opened for me. O what a mercy is here! it is as much as thou canst wish, and more than thou deservest. I have been in harmony with them insomuch, that to my knowledge, I have not fallen out with great or small in the congregation for two whole years and upwards: this is a choice mercy, O bless thy God for it, and ascribe it not to thyself. Thou art also amongst a people, by whom thou mayest benefit thy soul in holy conference, secret heart-discoveries, and especially in private days of humiliation; for this place hath been famous for professors. I must confess, indeed, God hath deprived thee of some valuable pillars, but he seems to supply their places by young people. Here indeed is the chief of many mercies: to have some beginnings of conversion, some inquiries after heaven, some prickings of heart, this is worth all; of other things I have enough. If I have suitable fruit of my poor labours, and occasion some glory to God, it were no matter if I beg my bread from door to door among them: it is better to gain one soul to Christ than gain a world. Ah, my soul, will it not be a joyful time when I shall be able to say: 'Lo, here am I, and the children thou hast given me?' Thou hast some credit amongst thy people, but then thou shalt have credit with saints, and angels, even with Christ himself, and shalt shine as a bright and beautiful star in the holy and happy firmament!"

The first three or four years of his ministry at Coley, he lodged with a private family, where he

learned some important and useful lessons, from the character and disposition of the master of the house. "Though very kind and courteous to me," he observes, he exhibited an epitome of carnality and worldliness. He became a notable school-book and teacher to me in the infancy of my ministry; in conversing with whom, I got much insight into, and was well furnished for answering, those carnal pleas and cavils of misguided souls, which otherwise I should have been unacquainted with. I had also not a little help there in the society of some serious, humble, faithful souls that I found in the family, especially a servant-man, a good old disciple, with whom I have taken sweet counsel." In a soliloquy, entitled, "Good out of Evil," he thus expresses himself on this subject: "How well hath God wrought for thee, O my soul, in many things which thou hadst thought had been against thee; so that thou hast had cause to bless him for crossing thy designs, and refusing to answer thy desires! A carnal, sensual, profane head of a family in human apprehension might have been thy bane; but through God's mercy it hath contributed much unto thy advantage. Although the Lord hath not succeeded thy endeavours for the conversion of this poor man, yet, hast thou not been much bettered by living in this family? Thou didst find some holy, self-denying souls, with whom thou hast had sweet communion, of whom thou hast received counsel and comfort in conference, praying, and secret exercises, by which means, thou hast been delivered from occasions and temptations to sin. O the benefit of good company! Perhaps thou mightest have been overcome in other families, to the grief of thy heart, the discredit of religion, and the dishonour of thy God. Though thou hast not wrought upon the head of the family,

thou hast been instrumental of good to inferiors. Hath not conversing with this bewildered creature been a profit to thy soul? Hast thou not hereby discovered more of Satan's methods, that thou mightest oppose them? Hast thou not been more acquainted with the sinful reasonings of a carnal heart, that thou mightest better answer them? Hast thou not discovered sinners' subterfuges, false rests, and castles in the air, that thou mayest demolish them? Tell me, O my soul, are not these observable preparatives for thy future employment? Hath not this been a good way to convince thee of the insufficiency of the means itself for conversion, without the concurrent assistance of divine grace? From his own confession, my host, unhappy man, hath been terrified sometimes by close and particular applications; yet to the grief of my heart he hath been worse afterwards, which hath made me say, not theoretically, but experimentally, that God alone doth all, and that it is the work of omnipotence to convert a sinner to God. This hath made thee to depend upon divine influence and the saving efficacy of the Spirit to accompany the word. Hath not this also been an occasion of thy tender compassion to poor, wandering prodigals, and impenitent sinners? If thou hadst always conversed with believers, (which still is the happiest thing in the world, next to communion with God,) thy bowels would not thus have yearned over sinners, nor prayed so earnestly for them, nor sought so seriously for their recovery. God saw this was a good means to try thy faithfulness: blessed be God for using any means to such an end. Hast thou not, my soul, by this means, learned to bless God more sensibly and feelingly for his distinguishing love? What made thy God to set his love on thee and not on him? Was it for thy worth or dignity?

Did he foresee thy nature would be milder, thy parts brighter, thy acceptance of him readier, or thy service for him more and better? O no! it was free grace alone that made the difference. Thou wast cut out of the same cloth for similarity, hewn out of the same rock for hardness, flowedst out of the same fountain for pollution, and wouldst have been worse than he had not free grace stepped in. Hath it not also had some influence on thy practice? Hast thou not carried thyself more circumspectly for fear of setting the least bad example, not knowing how speedily it would be improved to further profaneness? Hath it not made thee, O my soul, more weary of this world and more willing to be with God? O trying time now, but joyful time (or rather eternity) then. The owner of my chamber here may be a Nabal, or son of Belial; but the builder and master of that city is God, who hath provided (free cost) mansions to praise him in for ever."

When Mr. Nath. Heywood had left Cambridge, and had come to supply at Illingworth Chapel, the two brothers engaged a small house and united in their housekeeping expences. They had not lived many months together in this habitation, before Mr. O. H. was taken so ill one sabbath in the pulpit, that he was obliged to break off the service abruptly and return home. He was attacked by a severe fever which confined him to the house about three weeks: indeed he was sick nigh unto death; but God had mercy on him, and not on him only but on the church also, for he had but just entered into that sphere of usefulness for which he afterwards became so eminent. The state of his mind under affliction cannot be better described than in his own language; "How is it with thee now, O my soul, when the casket that keeps this precious jewel is so cracked? What sayest thou, trembling in-

habitant, when thy house begins to fail, and the foundations of this tabernacle of clay are felt to totter? art thou troubled? thy head was sick through a blind and perverse understanding, and thy heart faint through weakness in grace and strength of sinning; now thy head doth ache with pain, and thy heart is sick with a grievous distemper. God will retaliate with a judgment suitable to the offence. Acknowledge the justice of awarding suffering according to thy sin, and admire God's goodness that it is not more severe; praise him for his gentleness and pity; improve this blessed opportunity to get thy heart nearer heaven and further from the world; long for thy house from above, and wait for it till it come, and watch over thy heart. The alarm is sounded, the signal is given, therefore lay down thy weapons, surrender thyself as the Lord's prisoner, he will not harm, but deliver thee. Is not a happy deliverance better than a cruel slavery? Fear not God's call, it is but to bring thee to himself, and canst thou be in an evil place when in God's presence, who is the perfection of happiness? But stay, he comes not yet, thy time is not yet expired, thy sun is not yet set; knowest thou that? Granted; but will it therefore follow that he will not come at all? Will it be any disadvantage to thee to be ready long before death come? surely not, but the contrary. What comfort will redound to thee thereby, and what glory to God! Thou wilt not stand in constant fear, nor be affrighted then by the symptoms of death's near approach, but triumph in the thought thereof, although the manner may be unpleasant to the flesh. If thou couldst but look above or beyond death and the grave, and fix thy thoughts upon thy rich inheritance in reversion, thy life would be an Eden, and thy death a Goshen." The peculiar support he enjoyed in this

sickness, derived from his lively faith in gospel promises, made him even to long for the time of his dissolution, when his hopes would be exchanged for possession. "My soul desired death," he says, "rather than life, or rather a better life by means of natural death. O what would I have given that I might have sinned no more, but departed into that blessed and blissful communion with God of which my soul had a little transient foretaste. I was loth to be turned into the world again; yet I was freely willing to submit to the disposing will of my gracious God; and it seems he had yet some further work for me to do."

The impressions made on his mind by this visitation were not transient. He had called upon God in the day of trouble, and having obtained deliverance, he resolved to glorify the God of his mercies. In his affliction he had used the language of prayer, and having received answers of peace, he then employed the language of praise. After his recovery he wrote the following record of God's kindness, and his own gratitude: "It was my God that in love brought me both into and out of the pit of affliction, and cast all my sins behind his back. It was he that considered the low estate of his servant, delivered me from the gates of the grave, and rescued me from the king of terrors. It is he that hath preserved me, and hath again brought me to walk before the Lord in the land of the living, while he hath sent others to their long home who were as strong as I. It was he that gave me favour in the sight of so many, and sent so many Christians and others to visit me, not empty-handed, nor empty-hearted. It was he that put it into the minds of his people to commend my state to God at the lowest ebb, when I could do so little. It was he that answered me in the day when I cried, and strengthened me in my soul. It was he that

made my bed in my sickness, mitigated my pains, and gave me all the helps of creature-comforts that my heart could desire. It was he that restored my health when I said, 'I shall see man no more,' I shall never stand up in my pulpit again to speak to my affectionate people. But God hath brought me once more into the great congregation, where I may shew forth his loving-kindness, and tell what great things he hath done for me. 'The living, the living shall praise thee as I do this day.' 'Bless the Lord, O my soul; and all that is within me, bless his holy name. Bless the Lord, O my soul, and forget not all his benefits; who forgiveth all thine iniquities; who healeth all thy diseases; who redeemeth thy life from destruction; who crowneth thee with loving-kindness and tender mercies.' All the ways of the Lord are mercy and truth; in faithfulness did he afflict me, and in loving-kindness did he deliver me: heaven and earth are full of his praise. O my soul, bless thou the Lord! But what impressions of devotion hath this affliction left upon thee? What profit hast thou obtained thereby? What fruit of holiness proceedeth from this tree of sorrow? What duties doth it make thee observe? What lust doth it make thee mortify? Was not the time of affliction filled with divine consolations and joys, and hast thou not more liberty now, and better opportunity for God's work? Must God be minded at no other time but when his rod is over thee and his hand upon thee? Wilt thou seek him early and earnestly in thine affliction and not in prosperity? For shame, my soul, be not so dull; away with thy mourning righteousness: perform thy resolutions and pay thy vows. Acknowledge God's care, and thy fears, as Hezekiah did in his well composed song after his recovery, or with Jonah after he had escaped from the belly of hell. Lay up experience

against the time to come of God's interposition in answering requests, fulfilling promises, accomplishing his designs, discovering his presence, and keeping thee from sinning notoriously or sinning cowardly under this affliction. 'Tribulation worketh patience; and patience, experience; and experience, hope: and hope maketh not ashamed.' It is a miserable thing to lose the benefit of affliction. Improve it as one of the talents for which thou must give a strict account; lay it out to thy Lord and Master's best advantage. Learn to trust more confidently in God, to delight in him more, to walk more closely with him, to watch more over thy heart, to run more cheerfully in his ways, to do his will more angelically, to carry thyself more circumspectly, to exercise grace more vigorously, to resist against temptations more manfully, and to conquer spiritual enemies more triumphantly."

Mr. Heywood was now about twenty-six years of age, and had remained in a single state: but he did not think it good that man should be alone, and therefore had been some time in search of an agreeable companion for life. In so important an undertaking, he was resolved to act with prudence, and, as far as he could judge, according to the will of God. "After I had continued here a considerable time," he says, "I looked out for a suitable helpmeet. I was directed to divers, and then stopped in my progress. Many times I had good hopes that I was near a conjugal relation, but was disappointed by some strange means or other. This was no small trouble to me, but was the means of humbling my heart, and sending me more frequently and earnestly to the throne of grace. I was often afraid of missing my way, and as often begged direction, pleading this promise, that God will teach the humble his way, and the meek he will guide

in judgment. I desired not to follow my own fancy, but God's counsel. Such observable providences as I noticed about this time concerning these things, did mightily prevail upon me to wean me from the world and set my heart on heaven: yea, I have been convinced thereby of the deceit of strong impressions and persuasions that such things would come to pass." These disappointments and delays he endeavoured to improve to some spiritual advantage in a Soliloquy, entitled, "Hope Deferred," in which he thus expresses himself: "O my soul, set faith at work and let prayers fly and rend the heavens: it may be, God will be moved to pity. If he withdraw, yet let him not depart; if he depart, follow as hard as faith winged with love can fly, and then he will return and leave a blessing behind: if not, yet wait a while and keep in God's own way, and he shall strengthen thy heart. Holy patience has a glorious recompense, and in the close thou shalt not lose a jot, for thy reward is with the Lord. Beware of setting thy heart on an outward mercy. God sees not as man seeth, nor doth he bring to pass what poor, ignorant souls desire, but what his infinite wisdom thinks best. Be not thy own carver. Follow God's direction, and then thou mayest be sure of his guardian care. Limit not the Holy One of Israel, by setting bounds to his beneficence or thy patience. Long-sought and dear-bought mercies are sweet and sure mercies. Ponder thy own ingratitude for favours conferred, and check thy murmuring for favours denied. Set thy judgment at work as well as thy will, and let understanding act its part as well as affections. Wilt thou follow a painted shadow, and set thy heart upon a little glittering dust? Wilt thou be overcome with a piece of gilded clay, and admire a skin-deep beauty, which can be easily converted

into deformity, and will ere long return to dust and corruption? But, thou wilt say, there was something more than this which was the ground of my affection, namely, a discovery of glory within and excellency of God's image stamped upon the soul. Suppose it were so, (as thou hast good ground to believe,) may not another be found as desirable? Thine eyes are dim, and thou dost not certainly know what is, and what is not a blessing. Moderate thy desires then, bridle thy affections, and put a curb upon thy roving imaginations. Come, my soul, let me lead thee in a rational way. Stay awhile and wait God's time, for he is waiting to be gracious to thee, when thou art prepared for the mercy. He will meet thee in his own time and way, and when it comes, it will be the surest and most seasonable blessing that ever thou hadst in thy life. In the mean time, if God cause thee to live more to him, and have more communion with him, it will be equivalent to the blessing itself."

If hope was for a season deferred, it was not finally disappointed; and if Mr. H. was not successful, in some instances, according to his wishes, it was because a greater blessing was in reserve. Miss Elizabeth Angier, who had enjoyed the advantages of a pious education, and had early been the subject of religious experience, was well known for the amiableness of her natural disposition, and her personal accomplishments. It was the happiness of Mr. H. not only to become acquainted with her, but to entertain an affection which originated in the purest motives, and met with the sincere approbation of all the parties concerned. He had long been accustomed to venerate the piety and talents of the Rev. John Angier, and esteemed it a peculiar honour and privilege to be admitted into the relationship of son-in-law to this man of God. It

was Mr. Angier's opinion, that marriage should not only be publicly solemnized, but that it should be preceded by a mutual and religious contract. His daughter and Mr. H. therefore were pledged to each other, at the close of a solemn day of prayer and fasting, in Mr. Angier's study, when Mr. Nathaniel Rathband preached from Matt. i. 18, "His mother Mary was espoused to Joseph." This was about a month before their marriage, which took place at Denton Chapel, April 25th 1655, on which occasion, Mr. Harrison, of Ashton, preached from Eph. v. 31. Mr. Angier, was unable to attend the ceremony in person, being at that time indisposed by an attack of the gout, with which he was frequently troubled. Nearly a hundred persons were afterwards entertained in a decent and sober manner at his table; for he said, "he loved to have a marriage like a marriage," taking for his example, the attendance of Christ at the marriage at Cana, in Galilee.

Mr. H. was much attached to his amiable partner, not only on account of her personal excellencies, but because of her pious relatives. "She was not only religiously descended for many generations," he observes, "but her immediate parent was, and is, a distinguished preacher in these northern counties; so gracious, faithful, and successful a minister is Mr. Angier, that he is universally reverenced, none having occasion to open their mouths against such a man. It exceedingly pleaseth me to think that the partner of my cares and enjoyments is the daughter of a gospel preacher, whose employment I prize more highly for the greatness of the work and the transcendency of the object than the highest preferment in the world. What mercies, O my soul, hath God bestowed on thee, both spiritual and temporal, in answer to thy poor distracted prayers.

Among the rest this is not the least. A prudent wife is from the Lord; yea, he that finds a wife finds a good thing and obtaineth favour of the Lord. This favour God hath showed me, he hath given me the desire of mine eyes, the companion of my youth. But this blessing as bestowed on me hath many attendant circumstances that heighten my comfort and gratitude. 1. It was given me as an answer to prayer, which multiplies the favour and gives it a sweeter relish. 2. It came in God's own time, which is always the best and most seasonable. My impatient spirit had fixed limits to the Lord, and I was loth to stay his time and wait his choice; but now I see God's time is better than mine, and his perfect wisdom better than my perfect folly. 3. It came in God's way. My wife is not carried off by me, but sent by God. How much sorrow would a clandestine marriage have produced! Blessed be my God, all parties were not only satisfied but rejoiced. 4. God hath given me the seed of the faithful. Her reverend and renowned father is as the Phœnix of the ministry, an angel of God for gravity, humility, wisdom, holiness, zeal, and all ministerial abilities; yea, he is a Jacob, a prince with God; a Moses, a man of God; an Aaron, a saint of the Lord. I prize the stock and treasure of the prayers and tears of a conscientious minister and Christian above the richest dowry, rarest beauty, costliest robes, noblest friends, largest revenues, and most exquisite accommodations in the world. I value the office of a good minister more than the magnificence of an emperor, and the counsel of my father more than the prince's favour. But many a corrupt branch hath come from a holy root: yet, 5. God hath given me a gracious companion, a daughter of Abraham, one that is a fellow-citizen with the saints, and of the household of faith,

whose name is written in the book of life; one that is accounted worthy of the kingdom of God, faithful and beloved, and a partaker of the benefits of the gospel. This is worth a world! to have a wife full of the fruits of righteousness, to go along with me heavenwards, to lead on others by a good example, to advise, instruct, and pray for others, to mourn over abominations, and to seek after reformation; O who am I, that I should be trusted with one of God's jewels? Every good woman is not indeed a suitable wife, but blessed be God, 6. I have a true help-meet. God hath given me an humble, prudent, frugal, ingenuous companion, of a mild, flexible disposition, with whom I may take sweet counsel, who is of my own sentiments, and with whom I can walk to the house of God. What an affliction hath many a man had in a wife that was religious, but whose principles or natural disposition were discordant. But God hath so framed our natures as if they had been cast in the same mould, whereby abundant peace and tranquillity are in the family, a good example is set to others, and much comfort to our own spirits; these are not our own deserts, but the gracious work of God for us. Blessed be the Lord for my wife! And I desire to bless her in the name of the Lord."

Great as Mr. Heywood's joy was in his union to Miss Angier, like all other earthly comforts, it was not free from alloy. Mrs. H. was of a weak habit of body and frequently indisposed; so that even on the morning of her marriage, it was at first supposed she would be unable to leave her room on account of indisposition. Mr. H. was thus early taught to "rejoice as though he rejoiced not." About a year after marriage their eldest son was born, whom they called John, from the respect they entertained for his grandfather Mr. John Angier. Some circumstances connected with the birth

of this child are thus gratefully noticed by Mr. H. "Recount, O my soul, what God hath done for thee! Though a wife, and such a wife, be a rich mercy, yet thou wouldst not have been well satisfied if he had not given thee issue; and herein God hath condescended to favour thee. I now see the desire of my heart, for this was a return of prayer. God also stood by the mother in the time of trouble. He heard before we had called; for when we had designed a day for seeking his face, he sent the mercy we intended to supplicate. I desire to dedicate the child all his days to the service of the church, as the best and highest office to which he can be advanced. Who am I, that God should set me over a family, make me a master, a husband, and a father, as if he purposed to heap on me all the mercies of which a creature is capable! Surely these are the Lord's doings and marvellous in mine eyes! Why did I not lose my dear wife as Jacob lost Rachel? Why gave she not up the ghost as the wife of Phinehas? Why had I no occasion to call my son Ichabod, in sorrowful lamentation? The free grace of God is the fountain of all this! Who would not be the servant of such a God, who keepeth covenant and reserveth mercy to thousands? He is the same yesterday, and to-day, and for ever, to them that fear him and keep his commandments."

This new relationship of a father brought with it its cares as well as its comforts. Mr. H. well knew the worth of the soul and the necessity of regenerating grace for all the sons of Adam. God having given him a son, he felt and thus expressed himself as a christian parent in what he calls, "Parents' groans," and "Affections compared:" "Whilst we are in this world we are always wanting something. The body and soul have their constant necessities, and we are never

so full as not to desire more either for ourselves or ours. When I was single I was desirous of a wife, and when I had a wife I was desirous of having a family. Now I have a son, and I beg his life and health as well as his mother's. Since he is born in my own image, in the likeness of sinful Adam, I now want for his soul the grace of regeneration, adoption, and justification. I desire not great things for him in the world, but good things for his soul to prepare him for another and a better world. O that his soul may live in God's sight, and find grace in his eyes! O that, as Christ, he may grow in favour with God and man! If I should have no worldly wealth to leave him, yet if God give him an interest in Christ and the promises, I shall say it is enough, for he will not want any good thing. This is what I long for, wait for, and pray for; if my child have this, he will be fit for life or death. May God fully answer the signification of his name, and make him another John! May he be not only the "gift of God" in general, but have grace from God for all christian and ministerial employments, and go in the spirit and power of Elias, as the forerunner of Christ did. May he have the qualifications of the beloved disciple and affectionate apostle, and the spiritual revelations of John the divine. This is my comfort, that though I can do but little for God, yet I may have a seed that may serve him when I am laid in the grave, and gone to my long home."

"I now see and feel more experimentally, God's infinite love and my parents' warm affection for me than ever before. My passionate love to my child speaks my parents' pathetic love to me. Was it not love that put them to all those pains and offices for my good, when I could not help myself? What condescension to my childish desire, what prudent indulging of my

humoursome and troublesome inclinations, what pitying of my infirmities, and in all things what consulting of my advantage! Was it not from love? Did this love grow weary? No, no, difficulties increased it, and many waters could not quench it. Hindering of business in the day, breaking of sleep in the night, providing things convenient, and a thousand cares belong to these living possessions; yet all these were borne with delight, and so far from grudging they took pleasure in attending me: all this proceeded from love. As face answers to face in the water, so I can read my parent's love to me in the beatings of my pulse towards my child. Though I am almost a stranger to parental affections, and expect their growing with the thriving object, yet I can partly guess how dear my parents' thoughts were, and continue to be. O what prayers, fears, and tears did they pour out on my behalf! Little do children think, ah! little did I think, what yearnings of bowels, what meltings of heart, what impetuous actings of mixed affections, parents have towards children in their infancy, youth, and riper years, whether present or absent, in health or sickness. Their love to me was mingled with hatred to my faults, or what would hurt me; their joy was united with grief for my painful distempers or corrupt nature; their hopes of me were mingled with fears and jealousies relative to future misconduct; their anger was tempered with meekness; thus and abundantly more were my parents' breasts perturbed for me, and now I begin to know something of it. Yet all these are as nothing in comparison of the displays of God's love to poor rebellious creatures. Here stand admiring, O my soul, and follow that feeling resemblance, so often repeated in God's word, of his fatherly affection towards his adopted children, which however is as dissimilar as the shadow

to the substance, as a drop to the ocean, as a spark to the sun. He loves after a different manner from that of the dearest father or tenderest mother. Theirs is natural, his is spiritual affection; theirs is temporary, his from eternity and to eternity; theirs by instinct or impulse of nature, his is free; theirs is because of some excellency, his is to those that have no beauty, nothing but deformity and when lying in their blood. Parents would very rarely die for their children; yet his love brought him to the grave. Parents may possibly forget their children; but God's eye is upon those that are his, and his heart towards them. Though parents love their children they cannot always accomplish what their love designs; but God doth. What father's love can equal his? what mother's affection will run parallel with his? Let God's love be the nonsuch, and let man write after this copy. Let me love God with all my might and soul; yea, let me love God for himself and all other things in and for him, and put all things in a due subordination to him. Beware, my soul, of splitting on the rock of inordinate affection. Thou canst not overlove thy God; but thou mayest easily transgress in overloving dear relations. Get natural affections spiritualized and so love as a Christian, lest strong affection exceed moderation. To overlove is the very way to lose the mercy; for when God sees the object is more prized than himself, if he love that soul, he will remove the interposing object, that the torrent of affection may be turned into the right channel. Learn to love as if thou lovedst not, and to be weaned from the dearest outward enjoyments. The affections are the most deceitful part of thy deceitful heart. Learn to look upon thy child as a dying creature, and to bury it whilst it lives, that thy comforts may survive its death. It is but lent thee for a sea-

son, be willing therefore to return it to the owner at his call."

April 18, 1657, Eliezer, the second son of Mr. Heywood, was born; this was exactly a year after the birth of the first-born. Thus far, the days Mr. H. had spent at Coley, were peculiarly happy; he seemed to enjoy all that heart could wish. As a minister, he was beloved by the people of his charge, and made the instrument of good to many souls; as a Christian, he had been growing in knowledge and grace, and enjoyed much of the presence of his God; and as a man, he was blessed with an amiable consort, the object of his choice, and a fellow-heir of future glory, and was now honoured with an increasing family to perpetuate his name in the world. But a constant succession, or even the long continuance of enjoyments does not fall to the lot of sinful man: it is the privilege of the inhabitants of heaven only, to have all tears wiped away from their eyes, and to dwell where "there shall be no more death, neither sorrow, nor crying, nor any more pain." The birth of Eliezer was attended with a variety of afflictive dispensations. About the time of Mrs. Heywood's expected confinement, her husband was taken ill. Mr. Heywood's affectionate mother, hearing of the situation of her son's family, came from Lancashire to render all the assistance in her power, though at the same time, she also was labouring under severe bodily infirmities. Mr. H. recovered from his indisposition, his wife was graciously supported in her trying situation, and his son was born: but four days after the birth of his son, his mother died under his roof.

These circumstances gave rise to the following reflections: "Take a view, my soul, of the late occurrences in thy family, and make a holy use of them.

Such losses and gains, mercies and afflictions in this month, yea, in a single week, never happened before in all thy life. The God of heaven first struck thee with sickness, which occasioned thy dear mother to come and visit thee, who fell sick, languished a while, and died, while thy dear, dear wife was safely delivered of another son. These are remarkable events of Providence. O my soul, dwell a little on them. See if thou canst not read God's meaning in these lines, and make some use of the variety of letters, which this leaf in thy history contains. It was not for nothing that God did threaten thee once again with a fatal disease. At first, there were similar symptoms of approaching sickness, as in thy former fever; but God only threatened, the shower came not, only a few drops fell, and so it passed away. Blessed be God, that kept thee only one sabbath away from the public ordinances; the third day he did revive thee, and now thou livest in his sight. O my soul, let this mercy be like Aaron's rod to blossom, and let suitable fruit appear in thy life and conversation. But because thou hast a deceitful, careless heart, and canst not bear nor use such comforts, God put a grain of bitterness into this cup of mercy. It was not for nothing that thy God did thus dispose matters, that thy mother, such a mother as is very rare, a daughter of Abraham, one of a thousand, an eminent member of Israel's family, a wrestler and prevailer with the Lord, should come and take her last farewell of the world in this thy family, at such a time, and that she should be the first fruit of death in thy house. It was no mean honour that God vouchsafed to thee, that she who was the means of thy life, who loved thee so dearly, who breathed out her soul in fervent prayers for thee, should breathe her last under thy roof, and that thou shouldst be the

Joseph to close her eyes. O the breach that is made! How shall it be filled up? Such a gracious saint is not easily found; and shall it be altogether lost? I know it is her infinite gain. Shall not we have gain also that survive? May those for whom she poured out her cries and tears get gain! O that her dear husband, our honoured father, may acquire more spiritual supplies from above, and her whole family be gainers! O that we may have an increase of all those divine graces, that did so illustriously shine in her soul! May we, whom God hath put into public places, have such warmth of religion in our hearts, such public spirit, well-meaning simplicity, gravity and sincerity, as she had, be as free from sinister ends, as active in doing good, and as willing to spend and be spent in God's service as she was! Possibly, the benefit of her prayers may be extended to us in our holy office. How often have I found God's quickening and supporting presence in public, at the very time she was devoutly engaged in private. When God helped her heart to pray, he enabled me to speak: and shall I altogether lose the benefit thereof? Are not many prayers yet on the file? This is my comfort, my friend may die, but God doth live, and prayers may live; therefore the fountain of my comforts doth continue. Though my loss be great, God can make it fully up another way, and give me cause to say, O gainful loss! O comfortable trial! O heart-melting providence! We had a more cheering and direct mercy about that time in the deliverance of my dear and tender wife, the sweetness of which did somewhat moderate the bitterness of the other afflictive cup: as one was made ripe for heaven and went from this world; so another came into it. May he also be trained up to be an heir of glory! O that he may

grow up to fill the gap that has been made! Already there hath been much of God's power and faithfulness experienced, according to the signification of his name, Eliezer, the God of my help. God helped the mother when she was brought low, yea, he was remarkably seen, a present help in time of trouble. O that he would help the lad also, and be with him as he hath been with her! O that he would help us all our days, that we may set up our Samuel's stone, saying, "Hitherto the Lord hath helped us!' May he help us by one mercy after another in our pilgrimage, by providences and ordinances, from step to step, from strength to strength, that we and ours may be so helped on by grace, as that we may arrive at glory to joy in the God of all our mercies through all eternity."

The death of his mother was only the beginning of sorrows. Mr. H. had hitherto enjoyed the sunshine of comfort with his people, but a severe storm was gathering, the effects of which were very distressing. "My first apprenticeship," he observes, "of almost seven years passed on very quietly and comfortably, and with as much encouragement, in some respects, as my heart desired. While the blossom was budding, it was fair sunshine and calm weather; but now, when I came to some maturity, (at least, when I could better bear it,) I experienced many a bitter blast and nipping frost. The Lord warded off the malevolent tongue and hands of men, so that they did not assualt me, no, not a dog moved his tongue against me, that I knew of. Indeed, there was not that occasion, for while I only preached the word, the sharpest passages being only general, did not much exasperate: however, they did not show their teeth as they have done since. I do not judge myself better deserving respect than other pious ministers. O no! I am the unworthiest of the

tribe of Levi: yet few have had so large a share of comfort; because, it may be, God saw I needed more encouragement, being weaker than others, and that a little opposition would discompose my spirit and hinder my progress; therefore he spared me, as a man doth a tender child. He gave me liberty to muster and prepare for further service, to rig my ship for storms, to fortify myself by degrees, to lay in ammunition and provision for a siege, that my forehead might become hard, and my brow brass, against the workers of iniquity."

The occasion of this uneasiness to which he refers, was an attempt to restore the administration of the Lord's supper, which had not been celebrated at Coley for several years before Mr. H.'s settlement at the place, and also to establish church-discipline, which had been totally neglected. The want of the ordinance of the Lord's supper he thus deplores: "Whence comes it to pass, O my soul, that we have been so long deprived of that sealing ordinance, the Lord's supper? Was our dear Saviour so careful in his bitter agony to leave this friendly legacy, and are we so careless of his token of love, that we scarcely seek out for it? Surely this imports much ingratitude to him, and cruelty to ourselves. None of God's appointments are in vain, and they will prove a channel to convey divine influences, if duly, regularly, and conscientiously improved. In this ordinance especially, a gracious soul may be satisfied with the breasts of consolation. Indeed, other ordinances, preaching, praying, reading, meditating, and baptism, have their several needful and useful purposes for regeneration and confirmation; but of this holy supper, we may say, as of Goliah's sword, "there is none like it." Here we see the soul's fat pasture and still waters, where it may feed on the

bread of life, and drink those living waters which come from under the threshold of the sanctuary: this is Christ's flesh, that is meat indeed, and his blood, that is drink indeed. Here grows the tree of life, bearing all manner of fruit, the very leaves of which are for the healing of the nations. This is a part of the paradise of God, a resemblance of the large upper room in which Christ ate bread with his disciples; yea, a presage of the everlasting feast in glory. This is as the gate of heaven, where God sends angels by Jacob's ladder to bring good news; yea, he comes himself to sup with his people. Here we may see the ocean of Christ's blood that quenched the flame of divine wrath. The close hypocrite and profane Esau may possibly crowd in at this feast, as the man without a wedding garment requisite for gospel qualification, and so receive the outward elements without the spirit of the ordinance; but the gracious soul accepts it as a pledge of God's peculiar love and feeds on Christ by this medium. The lukewarm Laodicean and general professor may take it as a common meal, or as bread of deceit and water of strife; but a worthy communicant considers it, like Benjamin's mess, five times larger, better, and sweeter than his daily food. Blessed are they who drink of these rivers of pleasure, and whose souls are nourished with the fatness of God's house. Others may and do enjoy these comforts; but alas! we want them. And wherefore do we want them? Of this we cannot give a good account. We have waited for this ordinance many years, and still wait God's time to enjoy it in God's way; but, as yet, 'the harvest is past, the summer is ended, and we are not saved.' We stand still and would see God's salvation without our own endeavours; we say it is not time yet to build God's house. We look for miracles from hea-

ven and engage not in the work; we make obstructions, and say, 'there is a lion in the way.' Alas! we may wait years and ages, and not be any nearer unless we buckle to. Who knows how plain God may make our way when we begin to walk, and how he may assist us by his grace when we are resolved to overcome all opposition? He can make all mountains to become a plain before Zerubbabel. My soul, be not afraid but valiant; let not false, perfidious friends, nor open professed foes put thee in fear. The cause is God's and he will bear thee out. One ordinance is worth a world of pains; and one smile from God therein will counterbalance all our troubles. Satan will raise his legions of enemies, and invent his lies and slanders: the black regiment will soon be mustered to break in pieces the bonds of church-government, and cast away the cords of scripture doctrine, for the whole world is mad upon liberty; and canst thou expect to be at peace with Christ's enemies, and yet remain his friend? God and mammon cannot be united, therefore have nothing to do with the unfruitful works of darkness, but reprove them. I confess, reforming is an ungrateful work; but Christ declared, purifying the temple was his meat and drink. A distinguishing separation is harsh to carnal minds. Be serious and deliberate; consult with God and take advice of his church; do nothing rashly; get a good warrant and a good conscience to bear thee out against all opposition. Be sure to walk uprightly, and then thou wilt walk surely; seek to engage God on thy side by following his instructions, that thou mayest act under his protection. Who would live in the midst of broils and contentions when he might be out of them? But remember Christ, 'who for the joy that was set before him endured the cross, despised the shame, and is set down at the right hand of the throne

of God.' Serve God in thy generation, and strive after the church's peace and comfort in thy station. Improve thy interest to recover a lost ordinance and build up the walls of Jerusalem. In the mean time make the best improvement of the loss."

From the sentiments expressed in the above soliloquy, it is evident he could not satisfy his mind, without making some attempt to restore the long-neglected, but important ordinance of the Lord's supper at Coley. He was well aware, that many a good design has failed through want of prudence in the manner in which the affair was begun: he therefore consulted his judicious father, Angier, and adopted that plan which was likely to give least offence, and yet effect his purpose. Fully persuaded he was walking in the path of duty, and aiming at the glory of God in the good of his church, he was regardless of consequences. He prepared the way by some sermons on the subject, and then appointed a day for those persons to meet him at the chapel who were favourable to the object. Many came, and it was proposed that a few individuals, of acknowledged piety and wisdom, should be appointed by that meeting to assist him in the examination of those who expressed a desire of becoming communicants: but this measure was not adopted, and the whole of the work devolved on himself. Above one hundred and twenty persons applied, from many of whom he received abundant and unexpected satisfaction. Several, labouring under trouble of mind, and prevented by timidity from making their situation known to him, were glad of this opportunity; and he rejoiced greatly to find his labours were far more blessed than he had supposed. The names of those approved were publicly announced to the whole, and if objections were entertained against any, they

were to be made known to him before the day appointed for the administration of the ordinance.* Some persons of improper character were offended at his mode of proceeding, and threatened to make a disturbance by applying at the time the ordinance was to be observed; but they were so impressed by the morning sermon that their courage failed.

Having so far succeeded, his heart was filled with joy, and he thus describes the state of his mind on the occasion: "Record, O my soul, the memorable acts of God's distinguishing providence, relative to distinguishing ordinances, and relinquish not the privilege of the supper so lately enjoyed. Time was, when thou longedst with David for the water of the well of Bethlehem, and thy soul fainted with hunger and thirst. Now, through some peril and hazardous attempts, thou hast obtained thy object, and the supply proves not water but wine—not wine, but blood—not the blood of David's worthies, but the blood of the Son of God; the bread is not ordinary bread, but manna; yea, above the bread that came down from heaven: the blood of Christ is drink indeed, and his flesh, meat indeed. How often hath the Lord's day been the delight of my soul, holy and honourable; but the last was the best, my soul was almost overjoyed: it was the first time this invaluable ordinance had been cele-

* In a private record of church-transactions among his MSS. he has the following entry: "I made an attempt to set up discipline; and by the good hand of my God did attain it, so far as to restore the sealing ordinance, while I was public preacher at Coley chapel; and we enjoyed that sweet ordinance from 1655 to 1660, and some time after the king was restored. The names of such as sat down with us are these, many of whom are now dead, and some join not with us." Then follows a list of seventy-three names. In a note, he says: "Almost forty of the old communicants have gone to their long home. July 12, 1676."

brated in this place for the last sixteen years. How did my heart leap at the restitution of it! With what joy did I read and repeat the institution! O whence is this to me, that I should be instrumental in restoring this solemn ordinance! It is true, indeed, all things are not as could be desired; there are many things amiss, too many inconsistent members, and too few assistant officers. Yet, O my soul, do not obscure the glory of the mercy thou enjoyest. The Lord hath helped thee beyond expectation; for though our beginnings are small, he doth not despise the day of small things. The adversaries mocked at our solemn assemblies, and derided our consultations; but 'wherein they dealt proudly, he was above them;' their words were but wind, and their threats of little force; God was on our side, and took our part, the enemies themselves being judges. Who would have thought so great a work could have been carried on so far, managed by so weak an instrument, with so little assistance, and in the midst of so much discouraging opposition! Surely the hand of the Lord was in all this! Though we were a poor, despised company of weak individuals, deserted, if not opposed, by the rich of the congregation, who would not put their necks under the yoke of Christ, yet hath the Lord helped us in the discharge of our duty. When some threatened they would offer themselves at the ordinance, to see if I would pass them by, the power of God's word did so prevail, that they withdrew from their intended design. With respect to some, who had been examined by me, and concerning whom I had no particular ground of objection, it pleased the Lord so to deal with them under the forenoon's discourse, that the most, with whom several of undoubted piety were dissatisfied, being conscious of their own unworthiness,

went away; so that the greater part of those that staid were, I hope, truly gracious: this, O this was the Lord's doing! Alas, the state of things is such, that we have not authority to suspend or banish persons visibly unworthy; but God himself hath undertaken the work. He it was that gave us a comfortable enjoyment of this ordinance, afforded his gracious presence, and conveyed to us divine influences on the occasion. 'This is our God; we have waited for him, and he will save us: this is the Lord; we have waited for him, we will be glad and rejoice in his salvation.' We may say, with Abraham: 'In the mount of the Lord it shall be seen.' He loves to own despised worms, and to help where none else will or can. 'We are like them that dream. The Lord hath done great things for us, whereof we are glad.'"

The joy and peace that attended the first celebration of the death of Christ at Coley, after so many years of neglect, were of short duration. When a good work is begun, Satan is sure to provoke opposition either by pretended friends or avowed enemies; if the ruins of Jerusalem are to be repaired, Sanballats and Tobiahs will make their appearance or exert their secret influence. Some persons were highly offended because the door of admission to church-fellowship was not thrown open so widely as to admit persons indiscriminately, while some, on the other hand, were dissatisfied thinking the terms of communion were not sufficiently strict: from those who embraced these opposite sentiments Mr. Heywood experienced much opposition; and from this period we may date the commencement of his severe trials. It was a great trouble to him that some who were most violent in their opposition, were those to whom he had hoped his ministry had been useful. It is lamentable to find how far this opposition was carried,

particularly by those who were anxious that the rules of church-discipline should be of the strictest kind. "Such was their behaviour towards me," he says, "that their own party elsewhere disclaimed them. I voted some of them blameworthy at a church meeting, and the country did so ring with it, that the reproach will never be wiped off. True it is, there was such provoking occasion, all circumstances considered, that I could very ill brook or bear it, and I found great need of special grace, and had an opportunity to practise some of the hardest lessons in christianity; to bear injuries without desire of revenge, to suffer grievous indignities without animosity, to pray for such as despitefully used me, to love my enemies, and to overcome evil with good. I never knew what these lessons meant till now." At this time he experienced what he justly denominates, "direct opposition," in which he says, "If God be with me, why doth all this evil come upon me? If God be for me, why are men against me? Hath not God said, that if a man's ways please the Lord, he maketh even his enemies to be at peace with him? Surely something must be amiss, else God would not thus have permitted the devil and his agents to come in upon us. Have we not miscarried in the business; in matter, manner, or end? Is not this a punishment? Certainly there is cause for deep humiliation on our part; though the work was God's, the defects were ours; what is good was from heaven, and what was evil from ourselves. O my soul, never till now didst thou feel the vigorous opposition of the prince of darkness, especially in such open hostility opposing the power of godliness. He has been accustomed to come under a visor, but now he comes in his own colours, and with mighty force strikes at the heart of religion. With what rage do men cast

nuisance on the ways of God and nickname the professors of holiness? What plottings are there to thrust me from this place? what withdrawings of maintenance? what heart-burnings, surmises, and divisions among the people of God? what bitter and biting words, neglect of duty, and improper conduct among the strictest professors? whither will all this lead? will God take away the candlestick, and give men, in judgment, what they desire? I do not know what he will do with the congregation, but I fear he hath a bitter scourge for it. A desire and endeavour to set up the discipline of Christ hath exasperated many; they hate to be reformed. Now my troubles are coming thick upon me. God hath long spared me that I might become furnished for assaults and fiery trials. He hath indulged me for seven years together with the love and favour of the people, and encouragement on all hands; but summer will not always last, and now wintry storms and blasts are come. O why should the hopeful blossoms be nipped, and never come to perfection? Some persons pretending to be builders weaken our hands, and others openly deride. Think upon them, O my God, and turn their hearts unto thee, or restrain their malice. How are we the reproach of all, and the drunkard's song! Remember me in all my personal afflictions, and think of thy people, who enlist themselves under thy banner: for thy sake we have borne reproach. It is a great mercy that men have not power to put us to death, for God is above them, and will make them and their actions as his footstool to advance his glory. In the meantime, O my soul, wait thou on God and keep his ways. Be engaged in thy work, and commit the issue of all to him in prayer, who will keep thee in all thy ways; there are more with us than with those that are against us."

Mr. Heywood's troubles became complicated in their nature, and increased by a variety of circumstances. The nation had long been in an unsettled state, and though he was too prudent, as a minister of the gospel, to distinguish himself by political zeal, he could not but have his sentiments and wishes as a member of the commonwealth. As a Christian and friend to his country, he was attached to that form of government, which in his opinion appeared most adapted to promote the real welfare of the nation. He was no friend to the arbitrary measures of Cromwell, and the anarchy that was too prevalent during the interregnum. When taking a view of what he considered, "Public Woes," he thus expresses himself, particularly in reference to the state of religion, and the horrors of internal contests. "Shouldst thou, O my soul, contain thyself within the bounds of thine own heart, and not intermeddle with more public affairs that concern the church and state? The sudden rumour of some strange circumstances, which respect the church's decay, hath much affected the hearts of many precious saints. When Eli heard the doleful tidings of the ark of God, he fell backwards and died. No wonder that sympathizing saints should be afflicted on account of the sins and sorrows of the church, seeing we have peace, liberty, and sweet enjoyments under her maternal wings. When she hath trouble, why should not we lament over Jerusalem's ruins, and have compassion on the scattered stones of this city of our God? How can we expect to have a share in the church's enlargements who partake not of her sorrows? Come then, my soul, and view this guilty nation. Thou needest not make long journeys to behold our miseries, thine eyes will soon affect thy heart, and objects sad enough will be presented to thee. When thou attentively surveyest England, doth not a Golgotha appear? We were not

long ago a Canaan, a land flowing with milk and honey, but our scarlet sins have changed the prospect, for it floweth with blood, and swelleth with cruelty, and is turned into an Aceldama. The blood of many a warlike hero, and worthy saint has flowed in abundant streams on the earth, and stained our country. Alas, we have become a mere skeleton, and do daily walk among tombs and monuments. Our faces are pale, and our hearts tremble also for the ark of God. But is not the Lord still the God of the nation? And if he be with us and for us, who can be against us? What need have we to complain? Alas, this is the greatest grief of all, that God is leaving England! this, this is the quintessence of our calamity. Alas, how can our land fare well when God has departed? Well, and if poor England's best days be past, we alone may thank ourselves: we must condemn ourselves, and justify God. Our people have been surfeited with the gospel. They cry out, away with formalities; the manna is light food, it creates loathing. We need not wonder then, if God should take away what has become offensive to the nation. Will his Spirit always strive? It is true, indeed, many hopeful Timothys have lately been sent to work in the Lord's vineyard; but are they therefore obliged to remain in England? Perhaps it is God's design to make an engaging, attractive appearance at parting, to let us see what he can and would do if we would obey. God knows I do not desire these things to come to pass; I love my dear mother, the church of England, would hope the best, and pray for better things than I can well hope. I shall not be sorry if my fears are groundless, but shall much rejoice in God's free mercy and undeserved love; I shall then cry out with admiration, that God's mercy is above all his works. O that he would display the riches of

his grace, and not destroy this sinful nation! Should not the sins of this poor island, (the cause of all its miseries) much affect thee, my soul? Wilt thou not imitate the pious practice of renowned patriots of former days, who lamented for those that did not lament for themselves? Canst thou look abroad and not behold iniquity? canst thou see it and not lament it? The whole head of authority is sick, and the whole heart of the nation is faint. The Lord has been pleased to lay aside some excellent spirits as useless for a season, and, because of our provoking sins, hath put into their place sensual, self-seeking, and intruding persons, who like drones, eat up the best of the land. These are opposers of reformation, and contrivers of ruin, by means of oppressions, taxes, and vexatious proceedings, together with a shocking toleration of blasphemies, and abused religion, under the harmless pretext of liberty for tender consciences, the consequences of which we have already experienced, and shall continue to feel. O what a blow hath true religion sustained, under pretence of harmless opinions about mere circumstantial points, whereas they raze the foundation. We were weary of monarchy, but shall be more weary of anarchy. Is there no one to sit at the helm of the ship of our poor commonwealth, but an army of rude, unruly, and contentious soldiers? Alas, this is a sad case! Yet it is so, or worse; for men overawed by them, must rule and govern us. The sword alone must now dispose of all moral, civil, and ecclesiastical affairs. Ah poor ship, must thou be driven away without a pilot? Then farewell safety. Whither will not the furious blasts of men's interests transport thee? On what rocks of infamy and misery will they not dash thee? Alas, poor ship, whither thou must go God only knows! The sword of the

civil magistrate is sheathed, and the word of the spiritual minister is slighted. The sword of justice is drawn to support injustice, and the power of authority encourages such as do evil, and discourages those that do well. Were not ministers once the chariots and horsemen, the strength and beauty of our English Israel? but are they not now the scorn, and offscouring of the world? The clergy of England a few years ago were the glory of the earth; but now such as can speak have a bolt to throw at them! Stand and wonder, O my soul, at this woful, frightful, and prodigious change from one extreme to another. They that lately were slavish in their fear and obedience, so that they scarcely durst speak or act without their priest's directions, now contemn the Lord's directions and his ministers! Those silly ignorant persons, that admired learning, and almost worshipped scholars, now trample all under their feet, and would have universities demolished, literature banished, and darkness introduced! Do we not see illiterate, haughty, and presumptuous soldiers and artificers perched up in congregations, and without controul oppose sound doctrine, sow tares, and teach the people to despise and malign their pious, prudent, faithful, peaceable, and learnedly religious pastors? All this they do with such scurrilous language, as if the devil were at their tongue's end, doing his best to speak the worst of those he cannot destroy. Are not the people apt enough to hate their ministers, but they must be taught to cast reproach upon them? Is this the reward the ungrateful world affords us? It is our happiness then, that God is the portion of the tribe of Levi. We are not men's servants, and they are not to give us our reward, this is our comfort, and blessed be God for this hope; his providences, promises, interest in him, and communion with him, are what

we cannot be deprived of by men. We deserve, it is true, more than we yet have suffered on account of pride, negligence, and covetousness; and it is a mercy God hath not cast us out as salt which has lost its savour. Let us then bless the Lord that things are not much worse, even as our sins have justly deserved."

In August, 1659, Sir George Booth, afterwards Lord Delamere, attempted to excite a disposition in the country in opposition to the powers then in authority, and in favour of Charles II. This was called the *Cheshire rising*, because most of the gentry in that county were engaged in the plot. Many were weary of the confusion into which the nation had been thrown, and secretly wished for the restoration of monarchy, and the ancient family. The flame that was kindled in Cheshire soon spread into the neighbouring county of Lancashire, and the adjacent parts of Yorkshire; and, for a short time, threatened to embroil the country in another civil war; but this little army was met by Lambert's forces near Northwich, and dispersed. Several of Mr. Heywood's relations in Lancashire approved of the design, and his sentiments in favour of the restoration being known, he was accused by some, who were offended at his conduct respecting the establishment of discipline at Coley, as being concerned in this *rising*. Whatever were his private wishes, he by no means expressed his approbation of the attempt, though some of the most scandalous measures were adopted, to induce him to declare his opinion, and thus involve him in civil troubles. The shameful manner in which some of his people acted in this affair, he thus describes: "They came to discourse with me, pretendedly in love and friendship, got what they could from me on state affairs, and then, when they saw their opportunity, threatened they had,

in writing, a charge against me uttered unawares by my own lips; and their own jealousy helped them to invent other things, wherein they imagined I was guilty, though far otherwise. I may truly say, as in the presence of God, 'they laid to my charge, things which I knew not,' and which had not entered into my thoughts. They wrested my words, and when I desired liberty to be my own interpreter, if it were contrary to their groundless surmisings, they charged me with falsehood, and condemned me without trial. When a considerable number of my friends came to support me at a meeting, they would scarcely give them leave to speak on my behalf. Some openly contradicted me, by sending a note to me in the middle of my sermon to distract me, though, blessed be God, it prevailed not to do me much harm. They trampled on me scornfully, as scarcely worthy to live, some of them saying, 'they could not tell how to trust me with their bodies, much less with their souls; they would not sit down under any man's ministry that would not obey authority;' though they themselves were the most disobedient, changing the magistracy at their pleasure many times in a year, if they did not suit their ambitious and covetous humours; yet they could never charge me with disturbing the peace in word or action. This I must confess, that I could not say, amen, to their very irregular actions, nor act against my conscience; for I must obey God rather than men: I durst not dissemble with God, I mean, in giving him thanks for what I was convinced was real matter of humiliation."*

* When Lambert's forces had dispersed the Cheshire army, the Parliament ordered public thanks to be offered in places of worship for the success of their troops; this was the circumstance to which Mr. H. refers.

In the midst of these outward difficulties, his third son, Nathaniel Heywood, was born, and by an intercepted letter directed to some of his friends in Lancashire, to inform them of this domestic occurrence, he became involved in further troubles. These *mixed providences* he thus records: "Review, O my soul, a strange medley of multifarious providences about thee and thine. My dear friends and others, in my native county, upon serious thoughts and weighty grounds, did take up arms against the present powers, about August 1, 1659, among whom myself was generally included, though falsely. My dear wife, after a difficult time, was delivered of another son, Aug. 7. I desired to give an account of this to my friends in Lancashire, and sent to them the day after. The scouting soldiers intercepted the message, sent back the messenger, and took the letter. August 9, a band of soldiers came and took me prisoner, and led me away from my afflicted wife and troubled family. They kept me one night with the resolution of sending me to York, but God prevented, and raised up some to be my friends, from whom little could be expected, who obtained my release. I was sent home without any perplexing engagements being laid upon me, so that I observed the fast on the Friday, and celebrated the Lord's supper yesterday. O that I could learn the mind of God in all these dispensations! Surely I may sing of mercy and judgment; floods of love, and only drops of displeasure. How mysterious is God in his proceedings! O that I had wisdom from above to spell out his meaning! He hath a special design in all these national commotions: he only knows what party will prevail; yet a new war would prove fatal in its progress and end. Things have been carried on strangely in the nation, and woe be unto us

if God enter into judgment with us! The saddest thing is, that professing people are engaged on both sides, yea, many precious saints seem about to draw their swords against one another, while wicked men stand by and say, 'so would we have it.' O that God would make this turn off to his glory and his people's satisfaction! The failure of the message to give notice of my wife's deliverance, and to desire my dear father Angier's coming over to baptize the child, was a painful thing: but God had a special hand therein, and showed me much mercy. My friends and foes sympathized with me, and contributed their best assistance for my help. The chief trouble was the state of my dear, afflicted, and discouraged wife; but when her flesh and heart began to fail, God was the strength of her heart, and satisfying portion. The soldiers led me some miles backward and forward in the dark of the night, and endeavoured to frighten me with threatening words; but God stood by me, and gave me courage under unexpected trials, and sent me home the morning after: this was the Lord's doing! No man knows what a day may bring forth: what fears and hopes, what crosses and comforts, what dangers and deliverances he may quickly experience. God no where promiseth to keep his people out of all trouble, but to keep them from any deadly harm thereby; they may pass through the waters, but they shall not overflow them; they may walk through the fire, but they shall not be burned: God hath engaged to be with them in both. O my soul, let not these things slip out of thy mind; but whilst thou hast a day to live, continue praising God for this deliverance."

God, who had hithertho been enlarging Mr. Heywood's family, now saw it good to visit him with a new dispensation. He had begun to feel some of the plea-

sures, cares, and anxieties of a tender father, when beholding his children around him enjoying life; but now he was made acquainted with the feelings of a pious parent, when witnessing the corpse of his child. His youngest son did not live quite three weeks. This event being almost simultaneous with the Cheshire rising, he thus takes notice of them: "August 20, tidings came that the Lancashire army was utterly routed, 3000 slain, many hundreds taken prisoners, and the design entirely frustrated: though afterwards we found it was not so desperate as was at first represented. My little infant was taken very ill on Monday night, and groaned out its distress till Wednesday, August 24, when it pleased God to take it. In all these things God shows himself a sovereign. O what a heart-affecting thing was the late national confusion! It was a sudden, and perhaps an unadvised undertaking. True it is, we had sore and heavy grievances, and the land hath long groaned under a woful oppression and strange disappointments in church and state. But would it not have been better to try some other way than involve the nation in a new war? Doth not God rather call us to suffer persecution, than rise up against those persons that have plenary possession? May not God have wise ends in setting over us powers of usurpation? When his time is come, cannot he easily open a way for the accomplishment of his own purposes, without our using irregular means? It is a serious thing to involve a whole nation in broils and bloodshed; and a sad thing indeed for any of God's people to engage in such a contention! It made my very soul bleed, to think of pious men meeting each other in a hostile manner. Woe is me! that I have lived to see this day, when ecclesiastical divisions have produced civil opposition,

when Ephraim envies Judah, and Judah vexes Ephraim. How sad is it that those who are reconciled by the blood of Christ, should thirst after one another's blood! How unlike is this to the spirit and grace of the saints of God! Had it been a joint consent of all the household of faith against the kingdom of Satan, what cause of joy would it have been, and what grounds of hope should we have had! But, alas, I have lived to see every man's sword against his brother. O how angry is our God at this! and though he has brought them off with as little bloodshed as could be imagined, yet how may we fear it will heighten discord among dissenting brethren, fill them with jealousy against one another, and hinder hopes of an accommodation! In what desperate troubles is my native country involved, and also my dear relatives! How will the exasperated commonalty rage against the leaders in this affair! But there is hope in Israel concerning this thing, and all our help is from above. I desire also to make some improvement of the other sad afflicting providence relating to my child. Surely there is something amiss in us, or God would not have dealt so with us. O that his design may be thoroughly accomplished in us and upon us! It is good for us neither to slight it as an inconsiderable providence, nor be too much dejected by it, but to observe God's hand. David was affected with his illegitimate infant's death, though afterwards he encouraged himself; but the gospel covenant may revive our spirits in hope both for ourselves and seed. Were it not for a firm persuasion our souls have of covenant mercy, how sadly might we bewail the state of dying infants! but the promise belongs to us and our children. Though God hath taken one child, he hath left the other two, and will, I hope, make them of some service to glorify him

in his church militant. O how gracious is the Lord! sometimes he takes away those comforts we can best spare, and afterwards proceeds to take away those in which we conceive our life, and our all are bound up. O that by our non-improvement of this, we may not provoke him to touch us nearer the quick."

Mr. Heywood's situation at this time was singularly distressing. His domestic trial was severely felt, being a man of strong natural feelings; his attempts to promote church discipline were violently opposed by some who ought to have been assistants in the work; and opposition was increased by vehement political prejudices. The unchristian and outrageous measures of his opponents would exceed belief, were they not recorded in his own words. "At this time," he says, "men triumphed over us with intolerable pride, threatened sequestration, shot off a pistol under our window, and had once almost driven me from my dear people. Once, indeed, I had resolved to go within a day or two, but being better advised, I thought it best to abide the trial; for I knew I was not guilty, no, not in the breach of their own law. Little, ah! little did I think, that persons whom God hath made instruments of my trouble would have proved so. A military gentleman in the neighbourhood, to whom my heart was much endeared as a christian friend, and who had expressed the like affection for me, sent for me, and in private discourse obtained a full discovery of my opinion about state concerns, and, with some misinterpretations, divulged the same among the soldiers and in a public meeting at the chapel. Others were sent on purpose to tempt me to speak, and catch me in my words, whom I formerly judged as genuine friends. These strictly marked me, and without my observation wrote down what might be thought an accusation against

me. Some suspected me of having held correspondence with those in Lancashire, and have been much afraid for themselves, lest they should be unawares surprised in their houses. Others have watched all night, and kept an observant eye on my habitation, as if I were their enemy and contrived mischief against them; whereas the searcher of hearts knows that such things never entered my thoughts. Some have sent an unchristian-like note to me in the pulpit, while I was preaching, to distract me: and others have left the place with a resolution never to hear me again, circulated strange reports and lies concerning me, charged me with untruths originating in their own mistakes, called me and my way no better than popery, resolved and threatened, with bitter and insulting scorn, to thrust me from my dear congregation, took advantage from my too hasty resolution to send for another minister, and do still threaten to bring in another. Though some pretend more love, others wish to prejudice me to the utmost, to deprive me of my due rents, and resolve to hinder what they can of the people's subscription for my maintenance. These things seem sadly to make against me, and are very distressing, all circumstances being duly weighed; for some of those that oppose me are, I hope, truly pious: some of them have been my bosom friends, and if ever they have received good for their souls, it has been by my ministry, (as they have acknowledged) and have more reason to respect me than others, by the common law of gratitude. Some young persons have attained to a mighty height of pride and presumption, whose parents were my cordial friends, and gave them serious charges to be faithful to me. Some who have many times confessed their faults against me, have returned and done me much mischief. Sometimes I have been provoked to passion, and given

vent to the depravity of my heart, which has occasioned me much trouble. I have been charged with what my soul is most averse to, division and contention: this goes very near my heart. Whatever is or may be the issue, God is my witness how much my soul hath breathed after love and unity amongst Christians, how (too immoderately I fear) I have followed peace with all men, especially in endeavouring to produce concord between differing brethren. But, alas! what a sad thing that it has been unavailable, yea, that I should be charged as a fire-brand. I desire to take up my cross, it may be a direct punishment for my excessive desire for peace. God is just, but I am vile; I humbly kiss the rod, and accept the punishment of my sin. My comfort is, the testimony of my conscience, that in simplicity and godly sincerity I have had my conversation, in doctrine and practice, many years: and I can, by the grace of God, appeal to my adversaries. The charge is, I am a troubler in Israel and an enemy to Cæsar, though I have kept myself quiet and peaceable in my place and never advised an insurrection, when dissatisfied with the army's late innovations. I have been silent unto man, unless provoked to declare my apprehensions; for I have rather desired to open my complaints to God, who is able to redress these things in his due time. Surely God would teach me by these events, not to trust in man, nor to put confidence in a brother; and would shew me the instability of my surest comforts, and how bitter all my sweets may prove. O that I could open my bosom more to God, my sure and faithful friend in heaven, make more haste to get out of this world, and long more to be at rest. Then I shall never fear soldiers coming with weapons to apprehend me, courts of justice to try me, witnesses to swear against me, nor the executioner to take away my life."

About the commencement of Mr. Heywood's troubles at Coley, Sir Richard Houghton of Houghton Tower, together with the invitation of the people, sent him a presentation to the vicarage of Preston, worth at that time about £100. per annum. His resolution to remain in the place where he had commenced his pastoral labours, and rejection of the flattering proposal, were not adopted but upon the most mature deliberation, serious prayer, and firm belief of the will of heaven, and give decisive evidence of the purity of his motives, and the integrity of his conduct. The impartial manner in which he endeavoured to ascertain the path of duty, and his willingness to walk in it, will appear from the following meditations on this occasion: "Reflect a little, O my soul," he says, "on a present providence which puts thee to a stand, and beware of adventuring upon any thing without direction from above. Thou hast an invitation to remove to another people: look about thee, and inquire what is thy course. There are many cogent reasons both ways, and thy case is somewhat intricate. As things are represented to thee, the other is the more desirable place in many respects. They are a rich, numerous, and intelligent congregation; there is a pleasant situation, comfortable accommodation, abundant maintenance assured thee during life, discipline comfortably established, and the Lord's supper duly administered; the place also is near some of thy dear relations in the ministry, and many faithful ministers, whose praise is in all the churches, and whose society may be helpful to thee. Besides, thou hast a clear call on all hands, the unanimous invitation of the serious people without opposition from the rest, the full and free donation of it by the worthy patron, and encouragement by some neighbouring ministers. On the other hand, there are

some discouragements amongst thine own people, inclining thee to a removal; such as the present obstruction to enjoying the ordinance of the Lord's supper, shortness of a comfortable maintenance, want of a convenient habitation, and perverseness of some of the people, especially among themselves. These things do a little puzzle and trouble me at present, yet have not much prevailed to unsettle me, or remove my heart from my poor, dear, and affectionate people. Who knows but that God has sent this as a temptation to try how I love my congregation, and how I am affected towards preferment? Blessed be my God, I have some counter-working arguments to persuade me to continue. 1. This people have had the first-fruits of my ministerial labours. Though I was a child and not fit to stand up in a pulpit, yet they made choice of me to be their minister, which is to me a wonder and doth endear me to them. 2. Their choice hath been confirmed and their love increased. It is nothing for strangers to delight hearers, but to keep up lively expressions of affection for nearly seven years together, is something more than ordinary in these unstable days. 3. The considerable success of my poor labours in this place. Though I be nothing, the least of saints, and not worthy to be called a minister, yet I cannot say I have laboured in vain, for God hath given me divers seals to my ministry, which is not only the work of free grace, but some inducement to proceed in God's work among this people. 4. The door of hope is open here for the promotion of the gospel and settlement of religion, arising from the hopefulness of young persons looking heaven-wards, the external reformation of many, the general willingness of most to attend at wisdom's gates, the great interest God hath given me in men's hearts, excepting the prejudices of a few

only. 5. Their many favours to me, both in my single and married condition, have much affected my heart. If I should now cast these behind my back, and be ready to forget the bestowers, I might be justly charged with ingratitude, which I would ever abominate. 6. The serious advice of my dearest friends for my continuance, together with the reasons of their advice, whose counsel I highly value. Besides, there are the importunities of my people, the complacency my dear partner hath had here, and our concurrent inclination for continuance. 7. The heart-breaking trouble I know there would be on all sides at parting, and the sad effects I foresee would attend my removal, something of which I have seen in a neighbouring congregation, with divisions, heart-burnings, contentions, and the probable want of the means of grace. There is danger of the people having to wander to other places, or that some profane or erroneous person may be thrust upon them, the thoughts of which would embitter my comforts elsewhere, from concern for their souls. These, and such like arguments have prevailed with me for further continuance, and if it be the will of God, I desire I may continue here to my dying day. I wish to spend my days where God hath done me so much good; for he hath augmented my poor talents, and hath not diminished but increased my worldly estate, so that, as my reverend father Angier saith to me, 'It is ill transplanting a tree that thrives well in the soil.' Listen not, O my soul, to the pleadings of flesh and blood. This base heart will say, I scorn to live on alms, or be indebted to my people for wages; I must have things convenient for my station, and keep such equipage as other ministers: and will £40. a-year maintain a family, support hospitality, and provide for children? Pride will prompt thee to think

well of thyself, to esteem thyself worthy of a better situation, and that this obscure, vulgar auditory is too low a sphere for thy abilities. Covetousness and ambition will call thee higher, bid thee shew thyself to the world, get what means thou canst, and carry more sail in better company. But, O my soul, learn to distinguish wisely betwixt grace and nature, temptations to sin and occasions of good, sacred impulses for the glory of God and sinful motives for thy own interests: learn the great gospel lessons of humility and self-denial. Do what good thou canst out of the view of others, yet resist not opportunities of doing greater good, nor be ashamed of Christ in the world. Work hard for God, and beware of ostentation: above all, beware of covetous and aspiring thoughts, and affect not, with Diotrephes, to have the preeminence. Dost thou not remember that love of the world is enmity to God, and is the root of all evil? Consider how many have fallen by prosperity, that stood firm in adversity: and hast thou more grace and strength than they? Hast thou not a weak head and a weaker heart? Canst thou sail dexterously by the rock on which others have split, who have turned aside after filthy lucre, embraced this present world, and pierced themselves through with many sorrows? Where is thy faith? Is not God's providence the best inheritance? Did not God work a miracle for Elijah? and is his hand shortened that he cannot save? When Christ sent his disciples without scrip or purse, lacked they any thing? Is not God all in all, and able to make a little go as far as much? What occasion hast thou to question his providence? did he ever fail thee? Doth he not ordinarily so dispose things, that they that have little have no want, and they that have much have nothing to spare? Have not some of thy near relations

experienced this truth? Ah! my unbelieving heart, take heed how thou dost distrust God. Take some of the arguments whereby thou wouldst silence the unbelief of thy people, and bring them home to thyself. Blessed be God, the temptation to covetousness hath prevailed little with me, but there is reason for caution. The sense of fancied enjoyment provokes greater desires after profit, and an increased income enlarges, rather than satisfies the appetite: this is the vanity and vexation of things below. If thou hast food and raiment for thyself and thine, be content, and say with Jacob, 'It is enough.' My resolution and desire are to live neither above nor below my place; so to pass through the world, that I may not dishonour my God, discredit his gospel, nor bring a reproach on the ministry, either by careless prodigality or haggard poverty. If my want may advantage the common cause of christianity, I care not if I beg my bread from door to door, so that I may effectually bring more souls to Jesus Christ; though blessed be God there is no need, and I hope never will be, in this land: but if there were, I hope God will rather help me to suffer all things than cease from my work, 'for woe is to me if I preach not the gospel.' Since I have concluded to remain where I am,—may I be more useful, and be assisted in my work, that the secret of God may be on my tabernacle: if I conscientiously take care of my duty, God will take care of my comfort. Let others go from their people on slight occasions, I consider it a matter of consequence, and shall, I hope, make it a matter of conscience. I dare not resist a call from God, yet I would diligently inquire his mind. I stand *in bivio*, with two ways before me, and that way which God shall direct, and in which I can do most good, I wish to choose, though it be against my worldly interest.

Here I resolve still to continue, by the good hand of God upon me, ; this is the flock over which God hath made me overseer. May he help me to watch over them till Christ be formed in them! May I long after their real good in Christ, and see religion prosper! May it be said, 'This and that man were born here,' and may Christ see of. the travail of his soul and be satisfied!"

The changes in the government of this land, from the death of Charles in 1649 to the beginning of 1660, had been numerous. Many evils had been experienced by the arbitrary measures of Cromwell and the lawless proceedings of the army, which made numbers anxious for the return of the exiled family: among these, Mr. Heywood must be enumerated. The restoration of Charles II. to the British throne he welcomed as an auspicious event, though he "rejoiced with trembling." When reflecting on this sudden change, he thus expresses himself: "Lift up thine eyes, my soul, and behold the face of things abroad. After a dark and gloomy winter comes a heart-reviving spring. What a change has been effected in half a year! Surely there is a gracious, moving wheel of providence in all these vicissitudes. Usurpers have had the seat of jurisdiction, have held the reins in their hands, and driven on furiously these twelve years. They commanded a toleration of all but truly tender consciences, cast off parliaments of their own appointing at their pleasure, and threatened sequestration, for all who would not fall down and worship the golden image of their invention. They turned out our nobles, made our illustrious kingdom a confused commonwealth, an imaginary free state, while they deprived the people of their native privilege of electing their own members to sit in parliament. But when they had doubled Atha-

liah's time of usurpation, down they came from the highest dignity to the lowest ignominy. Strange events happened between September 1659, and May 1660. God is in the heavens, and doeth whatsoever pleaseth him: he hath glorified his great name, vindicated his truth and promises, and encouraged his people. He hath restored our civil rights, and given us hope of a just settlement. I must however confess, we are in a precarious state, being afraid lest the supreme governor should prove wicked, frown on the faithful of the land, obstruct the work of reformation, set up again the abrogated ceremonies, subject us to tyranny under an insulting hierarchy, corrupt God's pure worship, and turn gospel discipline into courts of formality. These things are feared from the flattering sycophants, who will flock about the newly created king. But shall our surmisings hinder our rejoicing? Who knows but the twelve years' banishment has prepared the king to be an understanding David? Let us wait on God, keep his ways, and trust him with events." The fears entertained by Mr. Heywood were but too soon realized. On the return of Charles, those who had been so violent in their opposition to Mr. H. became silent, and, for a short time, he peaceably and successfully exercised his ministry. This season of comfort was but of short duration; for in less than two years from the king's restoration, Mr. H. began to experience those trials for nonconformity, the particulars of which will be related in the subsequent history of his life. His sufferings for conscience' sake were preceded by a trial of a domestic nature, the most distressing to his feelings.

Mrs. Elizabeth Heywood was not only the wife of his youth, but the object of his pure choice and sincere affection. During the six years they had spent

in the matrimonial state, God gave them three sons, the youngest of whom was soon called to heaven; he helped them mutually to share each other's joys and sorrows, and maintained, if not increased, that love which brought them together. Mrs. Heywood's constitution, which was naturally weak, had been impaired by repeated bodily afflictions, especially since her marriage. Her kind father, perceiving the decayed state of her health, and hoping that her native air might be of some benefit, sent for her to Denton. April 18, 1661, Mr. H. his wife, and two children, took a journey into Lancashire. Soon after their arrival at Denton, Mrs. H. appeared to revive, and hopes were entertained of her recovery; but her disorder was incurable: she soon relapsed, and her rapid decline terminated in death, on the 26th of May. Mr. Heywood thus describes his feelings, and gives a portrait of her character: "What a sad breach hath the Lord made in my bosom comforts! O my soul, he hath taken away thy dear partner; the heaviest blow that ever I experienced in my outward enjoyments. I may say with Naomi, 'the Lord hath dealt very bitterly with me. I went out full, and the Lord hath brought me home again empty.' We went with the whole of our family to visit our native country, and in less than two months, lost not only a member, but a main pillar thereof—the wife of my youth, a plant of grace, strong in faith, though weak in body. Her old nature was long decaying, but her spiritual strength rapidly increased. The Lord had been long adorning her soul with heavenly graces, that she might be as a bride made ready for the marriage of the Lamb. I have no cause to lament her condition, but my own; the loss is mine, the gain hers; and both unspeakable. She is now put into the enjoyment of that which is

not attainable here; she is with Christ, which is best of all. Her many doubts and fears are lost in the beatific vision. Her sad complaints are changed for the triumphant song of Moses and the Lamb; her prayers and tears, for joys and praises; her sins and sufferings, for perfect holiness and happiness; her much lamented duties and performances, for uninterrupted communion with the Lord. She is removed from a tempestuous sea to a quiet haven, where the weary are at rest, and the wicked cease from troubling. She will never now have cause to complain of hard usage from friends or foes, of slanderous reports and falsehoods, of pains and sicknesses of body, of losses and crosses in estate, of sad tidings in church affairs, of mournful dissentions among brethren, and of the sins and licentiousness of the times: these things are to her as a tale that is told, and if there be any remembrance of them, it is without the least regret. Alas, we poor mortals speak of heaven enigmatically! But the veil of natural and sinful infirmity is withdrawn from the blessed eyes of her immortal spirit. I have not the least ground of fear relative to her; nay, while she was with me, I had always better hopes of her state than my own: and though she expressed not much to others, yet she was familiarly acquainted with the Lord in secret duties, and with her own heart, by observing its movements in self-examination. Her soul knew, in some degree, the way and fruit of ascending to heaven, and now she is gone to take possession. But here I am, a poor, bewildered creature, left behind to conflict with a world of sinful allurements, and anxious cares and fears, with legions of infernal spirits, and numerous troops of inward foes. Woe is me, that I dwell in Meshech! When shall I go and appear before God? Had I made the same

haste in holiness, I had also made her haste to happiness; had my soul conversed as much with God as hers, I might have enjoyed the immediate presence of God as soon as she: Enoch was too good for earth, therefore God took him. Had I been as ready for heaven, I must not have stayed behind; but the will of the Lord be done! As I am satisfied her time was come, so I desire to wait my appointed time: I am not unwilling to live, nor afraid to die. O what is it that caused the Lord to make such a breach in my comforts? Surely he hath written bitter things against me, and made me to possess the sins of my youth. To lose a wife, and such a wife, is no small loss! How dear was I to her! and what reason have I that she should be as dear to me? O the prayers and tears she constantly poured forth with and for both me and mine! O what excellent counsel the Lord hath enabled her to give me! O what usefulness and faithfulness in the things of this life! yea, what abundant advantage I many times received from her in my public work and calling, both as a Christian and a minister! Methinks the house is lonely without her, and all my other comforts present to me but a mournful scene. But why do I deplore my state? My work is to mind the Lord's design. As she is made a partaker of happiness, may I be made a partaker of holiness! as she is an infinite gainer, may I be no loser! Should I reap no benefit from this sad affliction, I shall have more cause to lament than for the loss of her: I may expect some further blow if I do not profit by this. May the loss of so genuine a Christian, cause the existence or increase of some grace within me! May her prayers, counsels, covenants, and example appear in her offspring in after generations, that it may be said, this is the seed of the blessed of the Lord."

This event being one in which Mr. Heywood was so deeply interested, it is no wonder he repeatedly notices it in his private papers; and every record proves, not only the strength of his affection for his beloved partner, but the earnestness of his desire that it might be sanctified to his spiritual advantage. He says, "It was the heaviest personal stroke that ever I experienced; yet the Lord hath abundantly satisfied my heart, and supported my spirit under it, partly by the consideration of her happy condition, and partly by my serious apprehension of approaching calamities. True it is, there are many things that tend to aggravate, as well as on the other hand to moderate this affliction; but that which I would study is, what is God's design therein, that I may derive some advantage from it, for in all my loss the want of the fruit of affliction is the greatest evil. She was as much a comfort to her father as she was to her husband; she grew up to a wonderful maturity far beyond her years. I want her at every turn, in every place, and in every affair; methinks I am but half myself without her. But why should I complain? she is at rest, God's will is done, and I may shortly follow after. Sure I am she cannot return, nor doth she desire it; so then I ought not. But if the affliction is deeper, and more painful than any thing I ever experienced; the supporting, quickening and comforting grace vouchsafed, is also beyond any thing I ever before enjoyed. My God supplies all my wants according to his riches in glory, by Christ Jesus; only I am afraid of losing this frame of spirit under the dispensation; but my encouragement is the same as Paul's, 'My grace is sufficient for thee.'"

In alleviation of his distress, God had granted him a pious, faithful, and kind servant, Martha Bairstow, who remained in his family about sixteen years, and

did not forsake him in the midst of his severe trials. A few months after Mrs. Heywood's decease, he observes, "I keep house with one maid and my two little sons; and I bless God we live happily together. I cannot be better furnished with a servant. She is my child as well as servant, one of my first and best converts to the faith, and that spiritual relation hath much endeared her to me. She is sober, steady, and of a tender conscience, full of scruples, and fearing God above many; she is laborious and faithful, one in whom the children take great delight; a great mercy to me in my solitary condition."*

* Such a servant as Martha proved herself to be to Mr. Heywood, had a just claim to his affection, and we accordingly find he took much interest in her welfare, as will appear from the following extracts, which include much of her history. "My servant-maid, Martha Bairstow, was sent abroad into service and hardship when only ten years of age. She has lived with me fifteen years. Her relations have disowned her; and when her father made his will, he left her much less than any of the others. He died, and was buried Dec. 1, 1673. Her relations were churlish; but have this day, Dec. 10, divided the goods and money: her share is £20. She feared there would be much wrangling, but matters were peacefully carried on to-day, though formerly she has returned home weeping. She is satisfied with her little portion, and I own this as a return of prayer to compose spirits, though she is put off with loss." About eighteen months after this, she left Mr. H's service to become the wife of James Tetlow, a member of the church at Northowram. On this occasion Mr. H. says, "This hath been a solemn day on account of Martha's removal, my old servant, who hath lived with me about sixteen years, hath been faithful and careful of me and mine, afflicted with me in all my afflictions, and sharing with me in all conditions. She is now married to J. Tetlow. I loved her as a child. She was full of heaviness at parting. My heart was much affected in secret prayer; but in the family, our affections overcame us, when reading and commenting on Gen. xxiv, respecting the proceedings of Abraham's faithful servant, and Rebecca's departure from home. I prayed near an hour, and God wonderfully wrought on us. Now, there is not one in my family, but myself, that was in it when first erected."

PART III.

Ingratitude of Charles II. to the Nonconformists—Declaration against private Meetings—Mr. Heywood's Citation to York, and Reflections—His Suspension—The Act of Uniformity—Nonconformists not guilty of Schism—Excommunication of Mr. Heywood—Preaching at Coley Chapel prevented—Another Excommunication—Private Services—Frequent Alarms—Third Excommunication—Exclusion from public Ordinances—Warrants issued—Occasional Labours—Violent Opposition—The Conventicle Act—Frequent Opportunities of Preaching—Activity of Mr. Heywood's Enemies—A Gospel Minister at Coley Chapel—Mr. Heywood's Endeavours to obtain Absolution—His Visit to Lancashire—Journey into the South—Preservation from Dangers—A providential Supply—The Plague of London.

CHARLES II. was chiefly indebted to the influence of the Nonconformists for his restoration. Had they united their energies in opposing his return, it is probable the family of the Stuarts would never have reascended the British throne: but so far from opposing him, many secretly desired, and others publicly pleaded for his restoration. They had just reason to suppose his return to authority would be attended with the happiest effects. The nation had frequently been convulsed by civil discord, and the promises he had made when in exile, encouraged their brightest hopes. If they had no solid reason to believe that church government and modes of worship would be established on principles opposed to episcopacy, they justly expected they would be permitted to retain their stations in the Establishment, or, at least, be protected in the peaceable worship of God according to their views of

scripture and the dictates of their consciences. The declaration of Charles at Breda, dated April 4, 1660, was sufficient to raise these expectations. In that public document he had said: "We do declare a liberty to tender consciences, and that no man shall be called in question for differences of opinions, which do not disturb the peace of the kingdom." Gratitude to his best friends and faithfulness to his own promises, required the protection of the Nonconformists in the exercise of their natural and religious rights. Many of them had ventured their lives in the royal cause, and were the first to welcome his return. When he passed through the city on his way to Westminster, May 29, 1660, the Nonconformist ministers in London and its neighbourhood attended him with acclamations, and appointed one of the most venerable of their number to present him with a richly adorned bible, which he promised "to make the rule and government of his life." But scarcely had he entered on the regal office, when, after a pretended attention to the requests of the Nonconformists, he sanctioned the most violent proceedings of the high church party, and gave his countenance to the most shameful persecution of his best subjects.

The first step taken in the persecution of the Nonconformists, during the reign of Charles, was a declaration to prevent private meetings. Many of the Nonconformists, conscious of the integrity of their hearts, and the sincerity of their loyalty, could not suppose the declaration originated in opposition to them, but from political motives. "This day, Jan. 23, 1661," says Mr. H. "we had designed to meet together for fasting and prayer in private, but are prevented by a declaration from authority. The truth is, our dread sovereign, at the first and hitherto, hath allowed us abundant liberty for religious exercise both in public

and private; but his clemency has been abused, which hath occasioned this severe and universal prohibition.* The fanatical and schismatical party, truly so called, have, by their unwise and unwarrantable practices, troubled all the people of God throughout this nation, and have rendered the sweet savour of christian converse to be abhorred. The Lord judge between such as fast for strife and debate, and such as fast with gracious hearts and designs—between loyal subjects and despisers of authority. But why do I lay the blame on others and not on ourselves? The actions of men and edicts of princes could not have abridged our liberties, had not our sins procured these things. Just, very just is what has come upon us, for we have been unprofitable under our privileges: they have been so ordinary, that our hearts are grown indifferent, and less than ordinary preparations have served for extraordinary duties. We met as if loth to meet; our prayers were full of deadness, unbelief, and vanity: it is therefore just, we should not be permitted to meet for prayer. We too much aimed at applause for our gifts, and God hath taken away the occasion of venting the pride and hypocrisy of our hearts. We did not improve the society of our christian friends, and therefore we must not now enjoy it. I doubt not we have been too much abroad and too little at home, religious in company, but careless in our closets: now we must learn to enter into our closet and shut the door upon us. It is the property of a Christian to make a virtue of necessity, and wisely to improve this present restraint of christian liberty, which our gracious God will restore to us if he see it useful."

* Such was the favourable construction Mr. Heywood was disposed to put on this proceeding, but he had cause afterwards to think otherwise.

The prelates, being reinstated at the restoration of Charles, exerted their power to force the clergy to a uniformity in ceremonies. Some, more eager and zealous than others, cited great numbers of ministers to their ecclesiastical courts, and punished them for disobedience before they were fully invested with legal authority. In various parts of the land, Nonconformists were harassed by litigious suits in spiritual courts, a full year before the Act of Uniformity passed. August 25, 1661, the advocates for uniformity obtained a person from another township, to tender a common-prayer book to Mr. Heywood, when going into the pulpit. He enquired by what authority he presented it? to which the man made no reply, but laid it on the cushion. Mr. H. removed it, and went on with the service in the usual manner, and was much assisted in the work of the day. September 13, a bailiff of Halifax, who had lately been made an apparitor, brought Mr. H. a citation to appear at St Peter's in York, that day fortnight. His friends advised him to attend in person or by proxy, lest he should be excommunicated for contempt. He went on the appointed day, and the court inquired if he had a proctor. He replied, he was there in person to answer any charge. They ordered him to attend there that day three weeks. He requested to be informed, what was the charge laid against him. They replied, he should be told the next time he came. Having occasion to go into Lancashire on the appointed day, he neither appeared nor employed a proctor. On his return home, he found another citation to appear at York on the following Friday; but the time being so short, and Lady Watson having sent him word that the court as yet had no authority, he did not think proper to attend. After this, he was again cited to appear before them;

and when he attended, he was again dismissed with promise of a fair hearing the next time. Having been put to so much trouble and expense, and believing the court possessed no legal authority, he refused to attend any more.

The pious frame of mind with which he entered on that course of trials, which he experienced for nonconformity, and the principles by which he was influenced, are thus described by him: "I have this day the unaccustomed news of a citation to appear before an ecclesiastical court at York, this day fortnight. The cause I imagine is for not reading the book of Common Prayer, which was tendered me about a fortnight since. This is a strange trial to me, and I am unfit to manage it, not having had to deal with things of this nature before. Reflect on thyself, O my soul, and see what use thou canst make of this startling providence. Should this appear a strange thing to thee? Is it not the same as many of my brethren in England have already met with? Hast thou not been expecting it? Is it any new thing, that men should rage and unite together to prejudice Christ's flock? Dost thou plead exemption from the cross? Dost thou not need it, and may not the hand of God in this do thee good? Are not they blessed who are persecuted for righteousness' sake? If thou didst suffer as an evil-doer, thou wouldst have little comfort. Examine on what grounds thou dost refuse this English liturgy. Is it from principles of conscience or contradiction? hast thou no bye-ends in what thou dost? Consider, an erroneous conscience hath carried many very far astray, even to die for a mere whim. Self-made crosses will be uncomfortable; and hast thou not cause to suspect thy own judgment? Consider seriously before thou dost enter on sufferings. Thy poor congregation is dear to

thee; and why wilt thou leave them to the rage of men that hate Christ's flock, and to the charge of some indolent, formal reader? Why wilt thou render thyself incapable of preaching the gospel, and be laid aside as a useless log? Wilt thou undergo the imputation of disobedience to a lawful magistrate, *whose interest thou hast pleaded and suffered for?* Why wilt thou put thyself into the hands of that merciless court, which may be the ruin of thy estate and liberty? But, get thee behind me, Satan, thou art an offence to me; keep silence, flesh and blood, in this matter. What have I to do with carnal reasonings? Hide nothing from thy eyes that may tend to satisfaction, yet have nothing to do with the unfruitful works of darkness. Hast thou not carefully studied the word of God, consulted what books and friends thou couldst meet with in this case, wept and prayed before the Lord, that he would discover to thee what thou shouldst do, that he would remove thy darkness, and carry thee forward on clear grounds of scripture and conscience? My heart is abundantly satisfied that I cannot subscribe without sinning against God, wronging my own conscience, giving offence to the people of God, gratifying the profane and obstinate, and hardening superstitious persons in their idolatrous practices. Well then, my soul, since thou art thus resolved, prepare thyself for suffering, and glory that thou art counted worthy to suffer for the name of Christ. It is no small honour that God hath singled thee out as the first in this part of the country, to bear witness to his cause: he that hath called thee to it, will help thee in it. He can make babes and sucklings instruments of his praise, and a young Timothy to witness a good confession before many witnesses, as well as an aged Paul; yea, he can make thy sufferings more advantageous to his gospel,

and more cheering to thy heart than all thy preaching. The sufferings of preachers for truth have a wonderful influence, in confirming believers and making new converts. Leave God to look to his own interest, and take thou care of thy duty. Speak not unadvisedly with thy lips; entertain no grudgings in thy breast; follow the example of thy precious Saviour; revile not again; pray heartily for thy greatest persecutors, both for the pardon of their sins and the salvation of their souls; keep thy way, and the issue will be good. The Lord can soon restrain the spirits of enemies, or blunt the edge of their malice, and bring thee off with honour and advantage. They are no losers who suffer for Christ; for he himself suffers with them, and will, no doubt, support and encourage them, so that they will prefer afflicted godliness to prosperous wickedness."

During a whole year, Mr. Heywood was harassed by repeated citations, and kept in continual suspense respecting the exercise of his ministry at Coley, not knowing but every sermon he preached in the chapel might be his farewell. These religious opportunities he calls "uncertain alms," and says concerning them: "Consider, O my soul, at what uncertainties of late thy spiritual food hath been obtained, we may in some respects say, 'We have gotten our bread with the peril of our lives.' At the close of one sabbath we can scarcely reckon on another. We have been in suspense and hazard above a year, and yet danger is kept off by God's hand. Two months since I saw the proctor's letter to the apparitor, informing him that there was a suspension out against me, *ab ingressu ecclesiæ*, which was to be speedily put in force, but to this day I have heard no more of it: blessed be our good God. On Friday we kept a private fast, and April 13, we partook of the Lord's supper without the least interrup-

tion. God sees we have no might against our potent enemies, therefore his own arm brings salvation. We are just in the condition of the poor saints in Ezra's time, who were ashamed to ask of the king a band of soldiers, but sought the Lord and he was found of them. Though some of the congregations are in a sad state, whose teachers are removed into corners, yet we may speak a word to our dear people that they may be saved, and numbers flock to the solemn assemblies. Whence is it, that there is this difference? We are not more deserving than others; our adversaries are as many, active, and implacable as elsewhere: it is free grace! But why does God delight to keep us at uncertainties in our spiritual allowances? Surely it is to convince us of his sovereignty, to train us up in the life of faith, to prevent our building tabernacles here, and to make us think highly of our mercies from the danger of losing them: finally, it may be, to stir up in our hearts a longing desire for celestial glory, where we shall never lose the enjoyment of God." Mr. Heywood's active opponents could not be content with his enjoyment of this temporary indulgence, nor wait for his removal by the Act of Uniformity. Having procured his suspension from the archbishop's chancellor, it was published in Halifax church, June 29, 1662. Though suspended from his office as minister at Coley chapel, he ventured to take leave of his beloved flock, by preaching two or three Lord's days to them. The fatal St. Bartholomew's day being so near at hand, he made no efforts to procure the removal of his suspension.

The advocates of episcopacy proceeded with a high hand soon after the restoration, and at length obtained the renowned Act of Uniformity. This Act enjoined, that all those ministers who would not comply with its

requisitions, should resign their situations in the establishment on the 24th of August, 1662; and that their places should be filled by others in the same manner as if they were deceased. The terms of conformity were, —"That those ministers should be re-ordained who had not been episcopally ordained;—that they should give their assent and consent to all and every thing contained and prescribed in and by the book, entitled the Book of Common Prayer;—that they should subscribe *ex animo*, "that the book of Common Prayer, and of ordaining bishops, priests, and deacons, containeth in it nothing contrary to the word of God;—that it may be lawfully used, and that they themselves would use the form in the said books prescribed, in public prayer and administration of the sacraments, and no other;—that they should take the oath of canonical obedience to their ordinary;—that they should abjure the solemn league and covenant;—and that, besides the oath of allegiance and supremacy, they declare it is not lawful *on any pretence whatsoever* to take arms against the king, and that they abhor that traitorous position, of taking arms by his authority against his person, or against those that are commissioned by him." The real motives by which those were influenced who were most forward and zealous in obtaining the Act of Uniformity, appear to have been "wrath and revenge in the old clergy, and a servile compliance with the court, and distaste of serious religion among the young gentry. That this is no rash imputation upon the ruling clergy is evident," says Dr. Bates, * "not only from their concurrence in passing that law, for actions have a language as convincing as that of words; but from Dr. Sheldon then bishop of London, their great

* Dr. Bates's Funeral Sermon for Mr. Baxter.—*Bates' Works, vol. iv. p.* 329, 330.

leader, who, when the lord chamberlain Manchester told the king, when the act was under debate, 'that he was afraid the terms of it were so rigid, that many of the ministers would not comply with it;' he replied, 'I am afraid they will.' This act was passed after the king had engaged his faith and honour in his declaration from Breda, 'to preserve the liberty of conscience inviolate,' which promise opened the way for his restoration; and after the royalists here had given public assurance, that all former animosities should be buried as rubbish, under the foundation of a universal concord." Though the Nonconformist ministers were, in general, as loyal and as anxious for the peace of the land as any of his majesty's subjects, as earnest in their endeavours to maintain the purity of the christian faith as the most clamorous for uniformity, and as willing to make any sacrifice to promote the good of souls as any set of men, they could not comply with the terms of this severe act.

The charge of schism has sometimes been brought against the first Nonconformists, but with what propriety let the Bartholomew act, and the history of their sufferings declare; "They grieved, they mourned, they expostulated," says an eloquent American writer,* "about things which afflicted their consciences, but they thought not of separation. Had they been allowed to exonerate themselves from the charge of countenancing what, in all sincerity, they disallowed; or had they not been commanded to belie their conviction by an explicit approbation of what they abhorred, the name of Dissenters from the church of England had never been known. Unepiscopal in their judgment they certainly were, as were all the continental protestants, and all the fathers of the British reformation. They

* Dr. Mason on Sacramental Communion.

disliked, they loathed certain exterior observances; but still had they been permitted to dislike and to loathe, without exhibiting public disturbance—had they not been required to deny what they believed to be truth, and to profess what they believed to be falsehood—had not the price of their peace in the Establishment been rated so high as the perjury of their souls before God, they had never been separated from the Church of England. As it was, they did not *retire*, they were *driven* from her bosom; and they have thus left upon record their testimony of confessors to the sacredness of that communion which belongs to the church of God, and to the criminality of dividing it upon slight pretences." These holy members who were thus driven from the places in which they had laboured with success, "had wives and children for whom they wished to provide; they had friends among whom they would have fondly remained; they had houses to the attractions of which they were feelingly alive: but all these they were compelled for conscience' sake to abandon!" Nothing but a sense of duty induced them to leave the people they loved and the means of their subsistence, to endure the various troubles to which their nonconformity exposed them. Their determination was not the hasty result of a momentary gust of passion; they prayed and fasted, they reflected and consulted, and at length resolved to cast themselves on the kind providence of God, rather than violate their consciences. The deliberations of Mr. Heywood, and the cautious but resolute manner in which he acted on this critical occasion, may be regarded as a specimen of what many others did, who shared with him in the common trial. "O my soul," says he, "was ever the hand of God so laid on the ministers of these nations, to change them in a day from being (in some sense)

the life and spirit of the world, to become as dead carcasses? How many lights are thus put under a bushel! Woe is me! that I have lived to see this day, when the builders of the church are counted the troublers of Israel, when the chariots and horsemen thereof are not thought worthy of their stations, and the Lord's stewards turned out of office. It is but a little while since the Lord left me, a sad and solitary widower, by the loss of my dear and affectionate partner; and now I am doubly solitary, in this separation from my well-beloved people. The other was sharper than any trial I ever met with before, yet this doth exceed it; it is the more bitter, because it reacheth the soul: in this, God seems to punish me seven times more; surely he is very angry. But have we merited at the hands of men such things as we now suffer? What is our transgression and our sin? At present, our work is to ascertain clearly the reasons of our suffering: the conditions are too hard to be accepted. Woe be to us, if we preach not the gospel! but a double woe to us, if we enervate the gospel by legal ceremonies. Our people's souls are precious, and we ought to take care of them; but our own souls are precious also, and we must not destroy them under pretence of saving those of others. Our work is dear to us; but God is dearer, and we must not do the least evil to obtain the greatest good. There are worldly advantages enough to sway us to conformity, if conscience did not answer all the pleas of flesh and blood. Should we forsake our christian liberty, and put our necks under such a yoke as neither we nor our fathers were able to bear? Should we build again what we have destroyed, and make ourselves transgressors? Should we violate solemn covenants, leave the work of reformation, and return to Egypt? It is surely better

to suffer affliction with the people of God, than to enjoy the pleasures of sin for a season. The bargain will be too hard to provide a livelihood by making shipwreck of faith and a good conscience. God can advance his work without our sinful shifts, and rear up monuments to his glory without our complying prevarications: suffering may benefit the gospel as much as service, when God calls to it. Would to God we could redeem our precious privileges by the loss of worldly advantages. It is no pleasure for us to be idle, fain would we be labouring in the Lord's vineyard: but alas, we are hindered, and woe be to them by whom the offence comes. 'Verily there is a reward for the righteous: verily he is a God that judgeth in the earth.'"

The sufferings of Mr. Heywood for his nonconformity came upon him in quick succession. He was suspended from his work as a minister in the Establishment before the Act of Uniformity required, and, within a month of the fatal Bartholomew's day, was excommunicated: "And were it just," he says, "how formidable would that sentence be; but 'the curse causeless shall not come.' Yet the thing we greatly feared is come upon us. The enemies of our liberties have gained the upper ground of secular power, and obtained statutes against us. This is the day they have long and wishfully looked for. The Act of Uniformity struck all Nonconformists dead on Bartholomew's day, Aug. 24, 1662. But as if that would not despatch me so suddenly and effectually as men's malice intended, I must have a wound before that which was mortal, that I, at least, might die a lingering death, like my dearest Lord. A suspension made way for my dissolution some months before the act took place, whereby I was suspended, *ab exercitio officii*,

from preaching and praying. My excommunication was published at Halifax Nov. 2. Now I am as a dead man out of mind; my voice must no more be heard upon the mountains of Israel. I am not only turned out of the pulpit, but out of the church, and must neither speak nor hear God's word. I am cast out of the synagogue by men, yet the Lord doth not cast me off: though I be as dead, yet through mercy I am alive to praise my God, yea, alive to God through Jesus Christ. Though I be cast out of the visible church-state, yet not out of the mystical body of Christ, who can and will take up those that are cast out by men. I am thrust out from communion with a corrupt administration, yet, through rich grace, I may enjoy communion with God and his saints in private: none can banish me from the presence of the Lord. O the days of liberty, the opportunities of salvation we have enjoyed! when God's candle shone upon my head, and when, through grace, my candle shone upon others; when, by the light of his love, I walked through the darkness of temptation. 'Remembering these things, I pour out my soul in me; for I had gone with the multitude, I went with them to the house of God, with the voice of joy and praise, with the multitude that kept holy-day.' But those pleasant days of the Son of Man are gone for the present; and behold a gloomy day, yea, a dark and lonesome night. We must not divine; men forbid, and God doth say, amen, in severe displeasure. But shall we desist altogether? The word is as burning fire shut up in our bones, and though it cannot blaze in public, as a beacon on a hill, yet should be glowing in private, to enlighten the houses of God's people, and warm the hearts of those who are willing to entertain us or our message." At the urgent solicitation of his father

Angier, he endeavoured to obtain an absolution; but the proctor sent word, that nothing would prevail with the chancellor to grant it, unless Mr. Heywood would take an oath to obey the authority, and abide by the commands, of the church. These terms were too high a price at which to purchase ecclesiastical forgiveness.

Not content with Mr. Heywood's ejectment and excommunication, his opponents were determined to resist all his attempts to promote the spiritual advantage of the people to whom he had ministered in holy things, many of whom held him deservedly in very high esteem. "Seldom," says he, "doth one affliction come alone. I did hope, my restless adversaries would have been satisfied with my silence, provided for the place, or suffered some provision to be made. It grieved my heart to see the people scattered from sabbath to sabbath, and the place left totally vacant without any solemn assembly for a long time. I did hope a stranger might enjoy the same liberty, as hitherto I have enjoyed elsewhere; therefore I sent for Mr. Leaver,* a godly minister out of Lancashire, to preach to my dear people, at least a day or two, who with difficulty obtained access to the pulpit. But the restless malice of an implacable enemy, stirred up his active instruments to hinder that gospel opportunity. The weather, Dec. 7th, 1662, was snowy and sharp; yet God brought

* Mr. Robt. Lever was ejected from Cockey Chapel, in Ainsworth, a place about a mile from the house in which Mr. Heywood was born. He was probably a descendant of the Levers of Little Lever, one of whom was an intimate friend of John Bradford, the martyr, and a chaplain to Edward VI. After his ejectment, Mr. Lever frequently preached in his own house, and elsewhere, as he had opportunities. When the indulgences were issued by king Charles, he preached publicly at Bolton, and collected a very numerous congregation. He was the first pastor of the dissenting church in that town, and died July 4th, 1692, aged 58.

a great assembly to hear his word. But when we were ready to go into the chapel, two of my old opponents stopped our course, and charged Mr. Leaver to preach at his peril, threatening to disturb us with a troop of horse. Upon this resolute and unexpected charge we withdrew, returned home, and the congregation dispersed, which, all things considered, was judged most agreeable to scripture example, a gospel spirit, and christian prudence. It was a sad disappointment; we went with as great confidence of enjoying the ordinances, as in times of the greatest liberty: but we see man designs, yet God disposeth. It is dangerous for a civil officer to hinder any good, but to step beyond an official obligation, to do mischief, is double wickedness. May the God of heaven open the eyes of those who think they do him a service in preventing his worship! May they be turned into God's way, who are so violent in their own! 'Father, forgive them, for they know not,' or consider not, 'what they do.' May the people of God learn to improve the dispensation; for our times are in God's hands, not men's. May God make the want of an ordinance, an ordinance for good!"

The anathema of one excommunication had already been denounced against him at Halifax; but as if his opponents doubted its validity, another was obtained from the court at Chester, and published in his native parish. Mr. H. had been guilty of preaching a funeral sermon, occasioned by the death of a friend at Bolton, and for this enormous offence he was cited to appear at Chester, and for not attending at the appointed time he was excommunicated. The citation was published in Bolton church, Dec. 7th, 1662, and his excommunication, Jan. 4th, 1663. Warrants also were issued for the apprehension of his person, if he publicly ventured

into Lancashire. On the receipt of this intelligence from his relations, he thus writes: "O the wonderful malice of men, and straits of a poor worm, that every foot would trample to death did not my God secure me! I did hope my fare would have been no sharper than my brethren in the common tribulation. I assured myself, that if I was thrust out of the pulpit, yet I might attend church; and if I might not preach the word for the profit of others, yet I might hear it for my own advantage; but an excommunication renders me incapable of this privilege. I thought if I might not preach in Yorkshire, yet I might occasionally engage in my native county: but all doors are shut against me in public: and what remains but that I sit alone and keep silence? O for a frame of heart suitable to my state, to mourn in secret for my own sins and my people's pride, in their contempt of ordinances! When shall I come and appear before God in public? I could even envy the sparrows and swallows their near approaches to the altar of God; my soul longeth, yea even fainteth for the courts of the Lord. I could choose to sit at the threshold as a doorkeeper, rather than be admitted into the presence chamber as a prince's choicest favourite. Time was, when the Lord's house was established on the top of the mountains, and all the country flocked to it like doves to their windows; but now we sit alone, like doves in the valley. Time was, when not a dog moved his tongue against our church assemblies, yea, when many became professors, for the fear of the true Israelites fell upon them; but now the men of God cannot go to their work, and the saints are scattered abroad. Time was, when we went from strength to strength till we appeared before God in Zion; but now God hath weakened our strength in the way, and shortened our days, and the bright sea-

son of our gospel opportunities. O when will they return? when will another day of mercy dawn?"

Men did all they could to hinder Mr. H. from doing or receiving good; but many of the people of God in his native county highly valued his company and labours, and opened their houses and hearts to welcome him. He cheerfully embraced every opportunity of usefulness, and broke the bread of life to multitudes, who came to hear him preach in the night, in private houses. He also remembered his poor, afflicted people at Coley, and preached to them in his own house as often as prudence permitted, though the activity of his enemies made every such attempt very hazardous. He could now bear his testimony from experience to the truth of the Saviour's declaration, "Blessed are they which are persecuted for righteousness' sake." He could say, "Though men forsake me, my God takes me up; and the worse men deal with me, the more graciously doth God communicate himself to me, and he raiseth me up friends to entertain me with more endeared affection. Though I be excommunicated, the Lord disposed my dear father Angier to admit me to the sealing ordinance of the Lord's supper, March 1st, 1663, when the Lord wonderfully manifested himself to my poor soul, in an awakening, quickening, and softening manner, so that I can scarcely ever remember having such enlargement in a public ordinance in all my life. O that the impression thereof may be lasting, and fit me for further service and suffering the remainder of my days!"

The state of constant alarm in which he now lived, the violence of the persecution that raged against him, the holy courage he manifested in what appeared to him the path of duty, and the watchful care of divine providence over him, may be learnt from the following

extracts:* "June 10, 1663, there was a large assembly at Coley-Hall, where Mr. Jollie was to preach for me; as it pleased God I was in Lancashire at that time. The soldiers had intelligence, and came to apprehend the people, but were disappointed, the persons assembled having notice of the design. The same night, the soldiers came to my house to search, but found not their prey. Since then, they have obtained information concerning several persons that were present, who are bound over to the sessions. Others have escaped them at present, after whom search is made, and some they are sending to prison on other accounts. Hitherto I have lived quietly at home, though they often watch my house to get a clear advantage against me; but though they have known of some solemn meetings, which I have attended to preach the word, yet hitherto the Lord hath restrained them."

"August 12th. Towards night, several persons came to inform me, that the troopers were coming that night to apprehend me, and desired me to go out of the way. I told them, I had not broken either God's law or man's law, so as to deserve any punishment from man; therefore I resolved to stay, hoping my integrity would preserve me, and my known loyalty and attachment to the king, be my best apology against the imputations of men about plots, which is the common pretence to secure me: but my escaping would seem to plead guilty. Accordingly I stayed, and slept as sweetly as ever I did, without the least molestation. Many other times I have had the like merciful protection and prevention after such alarms. Such is the active malice of some, that upon Lord's day last, Dec. 6th, there was ano-

* These extracts, and many others, are selected from a manuscript narrative of Mr. Heywood's life, which he brought down to about the fortieth year of his age, and then he commenced his diary.

ther excommunication of me published at Halifax, that that business may be surely done: the meaning whereof, truly, I cannot tell, but desire to make some spiritual use of it, and get so much nearer to God, as men cast me off from him."

"Oct. 11. I had a call to preach at Shaw chapel, in Lancashire, which I willingly embraced, and preached there the whole day without any disturbance. Though it was a very rainy day, a great number of good people assembled from many parts, and there were visible stirrings of affection. Who knows but the Lord will do much good? The strong desires and great efforts of people to hear the word, should quicken ministers to adventure themselves to break the bread of life, as they have invitation and opportunities. There hath not been any trouble to me or the hearers for that day's work hitherto, though there have been troubles attending others for the like attempts in the same place."

"Dec. 20. I heard there was to be preaching at Coley chapel, and after long debate what I should do, at last, I resolved to go and hear what doctrine is delivered to my beloved people; for I had heard an Antinomian was to preach. Being there, the churchwarden came to me in a fury, before the minister had taken his text, and would have taken me out of the chapel, to which, for several reasons, I refused to consent. He charged the minister to forbear preaching to an excommunicated person. I replied, if he would not preach, I would. After a pause, he took his text, and preached, though, so far as I could judge, not much to edification. I stayed at home in the afternoon, where I had an abundant tide of the Spirit, more than ever I had experienced, (that I remember,) which carried me out in affectionate prayer for the church.

Since this, I judge it my duty to spend the sabbath in my own house as well as I can, rather than endanger a disturbance in public. I may now say, as the Psalmist, 'I watch, and am as a sparrow, alone on the house-top.' I am become an alien at home, and may not so much as sit down amongst my old friends, nor set foot in the house of God. What have I done, thus to provoke the Lord, and thrust myself out of the house appointed for his name? Surely, there is some undiscovered Achan in my heart, that has caused me to be thus troubled; some Jonah has raised this tempest, and occasioned my being thrown out of the ship of the church. Through grace, I have not committed any fault worthy of such a censure from man; yet, I cannot slightly pass it over and make nothing of it, but must own the hand of God, and accept the punishment of my sins, whatever the instruments design. How long will the Lord be angry with our prayers, cast us out of his presence, and deny us the enjoyment of public privileges? O that God would cause his face to shine upon his sanctuary for his name's sake!"

"About this time, I rose up early one Lord's day morning, and resolved to go to Penistone, to hear a friend of mine, who was to preach there that day. But being alone, I lost my way, and thinking it would be late before I could arrive there, I turned to Honley, to hear Mr. Drury,* but he did not preach that day. After some overtures made for my preaching there, but in vain, I went to Holmfirth, where unexpectedly, at noon, the preacher and several of the people invited me to preach that afternoon, which I did, and found

* Mr. Drury, ejected from this place, was a native of Scotland, whither he returned some time after his ejectment; but was continually changing his place. He died at Edinburgh, in the reign of King William. He was much esteemed as a pious man, and as having a great gift in prayer.

much enlargement in my work: though my opponents have heard of it, they have not assayed to molest me. It may be, my missing the way may find a soul."

"In the court at York there were strong prejudices against me. Some of my adversaries had informed, upon oath, that I was preaching still, and that when some persons came to disturb me, I beat them with my cane, which are palpable and groundless lies: my intelligence informed me, that there was a warrant in the hands of some justices, which the proctor saith, he saw, and desired me in prudence to avoid it. I therefore went into Lancashire for a month, and after ten weeks' continuance at home, heard no more of it. Besides my civil liberty, I have hitherto enjoyed spiritual privileges, though in private, yet with comfort. I have had the communion of saints, in a considerable company, at my house every week, day or night, since I have been debarred from public opportunities. This is the more remarkable, because the churchwarden and constable are very near neighbours to me, and the one is so malicious, that he hath been seen to watch the house himself, and hath been known to set others to watch."

"Now, at last, a fatal blow is given to my liberty, for my restless adversaries have procured a writ *(de excommunicato capiendo,)* to apprehend me as an excommunicated man. The Lord providentially brought it on me, by an occasional meeting of the bailiffs, who had a process to take me on May 3, 1664; yet they have been exceedingly civil and courteous to me, and were willing to dismiss me, so that I enjoy my full liberty still, beyond my expectation, only promising to be forth-coming when I am called for by the sheriff. I acknowledge the kindness of Dr. Maude as instru-

mental in procuring this reprieve: the Lord reward him and others, for all their great labour of love in this behalf. Though this writ hath been procured, and I was in suspense whether I must be confined in prison or not; yet the providence of God hath not only kept me at liberty, but hath ordered me more public employment and usefulness since those fears, than for a long time before. Three whole Lord's days I have preached in parish churches to great congregations. May I not retort on my threatening opponents, 'Why boast ye yourselves in mischief, O mighty men? the goodness of God endureth continually.' I have found it so, and can oppose God's goodness to men's vileness, nor can they be so bad as he is good. I was the first that was begun with in this county, yet many others have been in bonds while I have been at liberty. Shall I thence conclude, that I am more righteous than others? God forbid! rather the Lord Jesus sees my unfitness to suffer, and indulgeth my infirmity. O my soul, bless the Lord, who is thy help and shield, who hath delivered thee out of the hands of all thine enemies, who hath girded thee with strength, who hath prevented all thy fears, and hath been even better to thee than all thy hopes. No weapon formed against me hath yet prospered, and every tongue that hath risen up against me hath been condemned: my God hath censured their censures, and condemned their damnatory sentences, so that hitherto their words have broken no bones, but vanished into air. The more that enemies have spoken against the servants of God, the more we have been able to speak for our God, according to Acts iv. 29. So it is, God opens when men shut. It is a miracle of mercies, that men lay not violent hands on those they account not fit to live in the land. God keeps us in our own

houses, and amongst our dear relations and neighbours; he alone preserves us."

At this time, when at home on the Lord's day, three or four companies privately assembled at different parts of the day, when he preached and they heard as if every season were the last they should enjoy: but when he had opportunities, he preferred preaching in public places at a distance. "May 8th," he says, "I was called out of my bed before sun-rise, by a considerable number of persons who came to hear the word of God. There came also another company in the forenoon, and still more in the afternoon: and we enjoyed the whole day in peace, with abundant spiritual enlargements. It was a delightful day to my soul, though painful to my body; but having so fair a call and a full auditory, I laid out myself not knowing but it might be a parting exercise. I find that when Paul was ready to depart from Troas, he continued his speech till midnight: and I cannot spend myself in a better cause. Blessed be the Lord for his goodness! I question not but the Lord will hear prayer, accept praises, and do our souls good by our fears, tears, and troubles."

"May 15th, going to Penistone to hear Mr. Swift,* who to this day enjoyeth his liberty, except three weeks' imprisonment, he importunately urged me to preach, which I was prevailed on to do. I was employed both parts of the day, and though I found not such special assistance of the Spirit, as sometimes I have had and did expect, yet the auditory was much affected; and who knows what good may be done, for,

* Mr. Swift was imprisoned three times for his nonconformity, after which he was prevailed on to take the Oxford oath, and read a few of the prayers, though he never complied with the requisitions of the Act of Uniformity. Thus he continued in this small vicarage till his death, which happened Oct. 13, 1689, in the 68th year of his age.

it was a large assembly and many had come very far? A gentleman in the parish sent to me at night, signifying that he had heard that I was in trouble, and entreated me to lodge with him at his house as long as I pleased, and he questioned not but in the ordinary way of providence I might be safe there. I thanked him, but resolved to return to my family and commit myself to the Lord, who I hope will still watch over me as hitherto he hath wonderfully done." A few weeks after this, he preached at Mottram church at the request of the churchwarden, and with the consent of the vicar, who, though a conformist, was present both parts of the day, and was so much pleased with his services as to request he would repeat his visit. "I bless the Lord," says Mr. H. "that he graciously helped me to deliver his truth with some measure of enlargement and without reflections, which seldom do any good, but often much harm."

In those days of peculiar danger and alarm, Mr. Heywood was frequently engaged with his brethren in tribulation, at special seasons of fasting and prayer in private: they were the more earnest in addressing God, as all hope of relief from human authority was improbable. The length and devotional fervour of those services, condemn those who are at ease in Zion, in our times of gospel opportunities. The following extract will probably excite the astonishment of some that read it; but the recollection of the circumstances in which Mr. H. was placed, will justify him from the charge of enthusiasm. "Tuesday, June 7th," he says, "we had a private day for seeking the Lord in prayer. There was a considerable number of Christians in the room, which was my father Angier's study. I was put to engage in the duty first, and continued about *three hours* pouring out my soul be-

fore the Lord, principally on behalf of his church. It was a very delightful day and a token for good. The Lord warmed my heart exceedingly, and the hearts of others, and will certainly return answers to all those affectionate breathings and importunate prayers."

The spirit of violent persecution which prevailed about this time, and was cherished by the high church party against the Nonconformists, almost exceeds our credit, were not the fact substantiated by the most indubitable evidence. The following instances may be taken as specimens: "July 13th, 1664, being at Shibden-Hall, to visit a friend there, I was desired to tarry dinner. They had invited some friends, and among the rest Dr. Hook, vicar of Halifax, who would not stay to dine, because, as he said, he was bound by his canons, not to eat with an excommunicated person: and though he would have gone away, yet I thought I would rather quit the place than that he should lose his dinner, or be defiled, or his conscience be perplexed." "Stephen Ellis, our churchwarden, came to demand four shillings for my absence from church four sabbaths. My servant answered, that if I came, he would put me out of church. Yes, said he, and so I will too, for the law must be executed, *both to keep him away, and punish his absence.*"

This persecuting spirit was not confined to a few individuals, or displayed only on a few solitary occasions, but prevailed among the members of the British parliament of that day, and induced them to pass what has been called the "Conventicle Act." By this law it was enjoined: "That every person above sixteen years of age, present at any meeting, under pretence of any exercise of religion, in other manner than is the practice of the church of England, where there are five persons more than the household, shall, for the first

offence, by a justice of peace be recorded, and sent to jail three months, or pay £5; and for the second offence, six months, or pay £10; and for the third time, being convicted by a jury, shall be banished to some of the American plantations, except New England or Virginia, for seven years, or pay £100; and in case such person return, or make his escape, *he is to be adjudged a felon, and suffer death without benefit of clergy.*" It was a great hardship attending this act, that it gave a justice the power to convict a person without jury; for if the convicted person was innocent, there was no relief to be obtained, the justice being judge and jury. This unreasonable and anti-scriptural act, commenced operation July 1st, 1664, and its effects were soon visible in a famine of God's word, crowded prisons, enormous fines, banished worthies, frequent litigations, hosts of spies, and multiplied perjuries. No benefit was derived from this act, except by hireling informers, who infested every part of the land, and fattened on the miseries of their best countrymen.

A human device so contrary to the spirit of the gospel and the law of heaven, could not extinguish the ardent zeal of Mr. Heywood, nor drive him from the path of duty: he was in labours more abundant. "We have had," he says, "every Lord's day that I have been at home, a considerable number with me to keep the sabbath, and hitherto we have been in safety, without disturbance. Yesterday, Aug. 21st, we had a most agreeable day. My manner is, to spend the time as we are wont to do in public ordinances, only we are longer in the duty of prayer, wherein I usually spend an hour in the morning, in confession and petition, and an hour in the afternoon, in the pleasant duty of thanksgiving, wherein the Lord hath wonderfully enlarged

my heart far beyond my expectations. Blessed, for ever blessed, be his name." Some of these stolen opportunities were rendered exceedingly refreshing by the presence of God, and on these occasions he would say, "Such is worth a prison: let me obey God's call, and do his will, and let his will be done upon me."

Mr. H. was ready on all occasions to engage in his Master's work, particularly in public, though every time he exposed himself to the malice of his vigilant adversaries. "Sept. 6th," he records, "when I was preparing for an intended journey into Lancashire, there came a messenger to me, requesting I would preach at Penistone the Lord's day following; and because opportunities of that nature are but rare, I waved my first intention, and embraced that motion. The same day having the advantage of solitariness in my house, I went into my chamber, and prostrated myself before the Lord, earnestly desiring of him, that if he called me to that public work, he would do some good by me: but in that duty I had not the assistance I desired and expected, and such as I have often enjoyed. On the Tuesday after, at Denton, I had another invitation to preach on the Lord's day, at Mottram: and though I had travelled that week, and had but little leisure for preparation, though I was even under some indisposition of body, I experienced abundant enlargement of soul, great liberty of speech, and assistance in the work. The congregation was extraordinarily great. Who knows whether shall prosper, this or the other? However, I adore infinite wisdom and goodness in both."

If Mr. Heywood enjoyed his liberty, and embraced many opportunities of doing good, at a time when the terror of three excommunications hung over him, it was not because of inactivity or defective animosity in

his enemies, but because the special providence of God restrained their malice, and protected his faithful servant. "Yesterday, Oct. 9th," he remarks, "N. W—'s man, and widow B—, watched under the gates in the forenoon, while I prayed and preached in my house, and uttered many bitter, threatening words, both to my servant and others, yet we were in quietness all the day: blessed be God. Since then, I hear there are several persons suborned to watch my house, to see who come to me on the Lord's day, and to give notice to Sir John Armitage, who purposeth to surprise us as a conventicle, according to the late act, and carry us to prison. A short time afterwards, early on the Lord's day morning, as I opened my gates, a man ran away down the field: he is servant to a chief adversary of mine. What his intention was, I know not, but through God's rich providence, we enjoyed a blessed sabbath, and had a greater company than usual, because on that day, there was no preaching at Coley chapel. Many of the neighbours spent the sabbath with us to our abundant satisfaction, and without any disturbance: blessed be God."

It had been a great addition to Mr. Heywood's troubles, that the place in which he had laboured for the good of souls, and from which he had been ejected, was frequently unsupplied, and though two persons had remained a short time as ministers at the chapel, it was still vacant. It was therefore with great pleasure he records: "There is an honest minister come to Coley at last, one Mr. Hoole, a very late conformist: the first time he preached there was Oct. 23, 1664. He preacheth well and is a pious man, and therefore I am resolved not to draw any from the public ordinances, but encourage them to wait on God in them, and pray for his blessing on them, to the good of many

souls. But I fear my opponents will be his enemies for following that which is good, though he do conform." Mr. H.'s people having the opportunity of hearing the gospel at home, and his preaching at his house on the Lord's day being attended with much danger, he was the more willing to embrace opportunities of preaching and hearing at distant places. His narrative therefore abounds with the relation of many sabbath-day journies about this time, among which are the following: "Because I could not peaceably go to my own chapel to hear Mr. Hoole, I went Nov. 5. to hear Mr. Crossley at Bramhope, who by the good providence of God still continues in his public work without conforming. I heard him in the morning, but at noon Mr. Dinely,* the gentleman of the place, moved that I should preach in the afternoon. I told him I was willing, if Mr. Crossley was content, and if it might not prejudice the people. They unanimously desired it, and referred the consequences to God's providence. I considered it as a call from God, and ventured to preach. The Lord was graciously seen in giving me unwonted liberty of speech and spirit, both in prayer and preaching; and affected the hearts of his people: blessed be God.—Again, I went to spend a sabbath at Bramhope, and heard a Mr. Ord, a north country minister, who had lately been imprisoned at York for preaching in a church in that city, but was released at the end of three weeks, upon a flaw in the *significabit*. It was a precious sabbath to me. The day after we took the advantage of a public fast: a great congregation came from all parts. The Lord helped me to

* Bramhope-hall, the residence of this worthy gentleman, was a common asylum for poor nonconformist ministers during their sufferings. The worship of God was maintained in this place till the death of Mr. Dineley, in 1689, in the 83rd year of his age.

carry on the work of the day, after Mr. C. had made an expository beginning. The service continued from eleven till half-past three o'clock. Blessed, blessed be our gracious God for that precious and unexpected opportunity."

The dangers to which Mr. H. was constantly exposed by his repeated excommunications, and the warrants that had been issued for his apprehension, made him desirous to use every lawful means to obtain absolution; or if that could not be granted, to be able to attend public preaching without fear of disturbance. On this latter subject he says: "Because I have a great desire to wait on God in public ordinances, though it be but to hear the minister at Coley, I have therefore sent to a friend at York to consult with some proctor, whether I may not, according to the bishop's laws, go and hear a sermon in public, though I be excommunicated, as they call it? The answer I have received is this: 'Dr. Hitch, Dean of York, saith, that an excommunicated person is not allowed to be present at prayers or sermon; yet it being usual for such to hear sermons without disturbance, he wonders that any churchwarden should be so ignorant or malicious as to hinder any from hearing the word. He said he would not deliver his judgment under his hand for £100.' I have, saith my informant, searched the canons, and consulted with several ministers about the case, and their opinion is, that there is no law prohibiting any person, either heathen or Christian, from hearing the word preached. This is the answer, which smells of Babel, and is strangely confused. It is not allowed for such a one to hear, and yet there is no law, canon, or statute prohibiting it: surely where there is no law, there is no transgression; but this is like all the rest of their rules, they make laws as they list."

In the beginning of the year 1665, Mr. H. visited his native place, and the people of the neighbourhood were very importunate to enjoy his services. He preached every night in the week, besides keeping a fast, and his usual work on the Lord's day; "I was induced to it," he saith, "partly, because it is my native place, where my relations are resident; partly, because their public administrations are unprofitable and discouraging; partly, because I took this as a token for future good; and likewise, because I knew not that I should ever appear amongst them again." Mr. Beswick, minister of Ratcliffe, near Bury, made bitter complaints to the justices, that Mr. H. came over to Bolton parish, and preached and prayed among great numbers of people, which he called conventicles; but the justices, wiser and more tolerant than he, put him off. Afterwards he went to a privy sessions at Bolton, and made a similar complaint; but Mr. Hulton, of Hulton-park, a justice of the peace, told him he did not know what a conventicle was, and that what he had informed against was not one, and thus gave him a rebuke for his information. It had been well for England, and more consistent with her boasted humanity, if all justices in those perplexing times, had acted in the same manner.

Early in the summer Mr. H. resolved to visit his friends in the south, but came not to the determination till he had fervently implored the divine direction and blessing. "After long deliberation," he says, "I determined on a journey into the south, and observed a private fast to beg God's leave and presence. He gave us a gracious token for good, and a satisfying return of prayer afterwards; so that in about six weeks time, I despatched that journey and returned home in safety, having visited several friends at Cambridge, Dedham

in Essex, London, Coventry, Lancashire, and elsewhere. Oh for a thankful heart!" Having experienced many mercies, and enjoyed much comfort in his journey, he set apart the 12th of July as a day of thanksgiving, on which occasion he was honoured with the company of several christian friends, and the presence of God.

After his return he renewed his accustomed labours as he had opportunity. The first Lord's day he spent in his own house with a few of his beloved people, at which time, he says, "I found extraordinary enlargement in prayer and praise, but especially in wrestling with God for mercy on behalf of the nation. There were eleven or twelve besides my family; and O what floods of tears were poured forth! We were in safety, without fear, all day; though I have since heard that the constable and churchwarden were met near my house; but the Lord surprisingly turned them another way."

About this time, Mr. H. was in constant danger of being apprehended, but was remarkably preserved from the malicious designs of men. Among other instances, he records the following: "Yesterday, Aug. 19th, the pursuivants took up several persons at or about Halifax, and are taking up others to-day, to carry them to York, before the Duke, on what account is not known. Several were afraid for me, but blessed be God, we have enjoyed this Lord's day peaceably and profitably, and with a considerable number of people. Sept. 17th, the constable and two men came to my house, while I was at prayer, and searched it, when it so happened, that contrary to what was generally the case, there were not more than four persons besides the family. The rest of the day was spent in prayer and praise. Nov. 5th. While I was engaged at Penistone, conducting the monthly fast at that place for the plague in

London, notice was brought into the church, that some troopers were at the gates to apprehend me; but being taken a back way to Water-hall, I escaped.—When preaching at Shadwell, near Leeds, for Mr. Hardcastle, at that time in prison for nonconformity, a bailiff from Leeds, having another man with him, looked in at the window and said, I have nothing to do with this man. He made great inquiries after the name of the preacher, and desired several persons to step to the pulpit for information: but they all refused. Being told of this at the conclusion of service, I went on to the afternoon's work, before the congregation had dispersed. When singing was begun, the bailiffs went off, saying, let us leave them merry: so we enjoyed our liberty that day."

From various circumstances already related, it appears Mr. H. was a child of special providence: this opinion receives additional confirmation from the following short narrative of an event, that transpired between the time of his ejectment and the close of this period. "While I was musing, and pondering how to get my rent discharged, and had no way, at this time, but to borrow it, there came a dear friend to me, and brought me £5. which did furnish me with an overplus besides my rent. It was a seasonable present, sent to me by a liberal hand; yet I own God chiefly in it, who cares for me, as in this and several other experiences is evident. O what a sweet thing is the life of faith! That is a perfumed gift, which thus comes from God as a token of love, after the actings of faith in prayer. How good is God to me! I live nobly, and am so far from wanting, that I have all and abound; and where supplies fail one way, God makes them up another. Many times I expect most where I am most disappointed, and help comes in from quar-

ters where I had least reason to look for any; but this I may say, 'The Lord is my shepherd; I shall not want:' and hitherto God hath helped me." *

* This narration corresponds in so many particulars with an anecdote in the "Life of O. Heywood," by the late Dr. Fawcett, that reference is probably made to the same event, only this is Mr. Heywood's relation of the fact, and the other is the account handed down by tradition. Among the numerous private MSS. of Mr. H. still in preservation, and which have been carefully and minutely examined, no allusion is made to such an event, except in the above extract. Dr. Fawcett says: "The little stock of money was quite exhausted, the family provisions were entirely consumed, and Martha could lend no more assistance from the little savings of former days. Mr. H. still trusted that God would provide; when he had nothing but the divine promise to live upon, he said,

'When cruise and barrel both are dry,
We still will trust in God Most High.'

When the children began to be impatient for want of food, Mr. H. called his servant, and said to her, 'Martha, take a basket, and go to Halifax; call upon Mr. N. the shopkeeper, in Northgate, and tell him, I desire him to lend me five shillings: if he will be kind enough to do it, buy us some cheese, some bread, and such other little things as you know we most want; and be as expeditious as you can, for the poor children begin to be fretful for want of something to eat. Put on your hat and cloak, and the Lord give you good speed; in the meantime, we will offer up our requests to him who feeds the young ravens when they cry, and who knows what we have need of before we ask him.' Martha observed her master's directions; but when she came near the house where she was ordered to beg the loan of five shillings, through timidity and bashfulness, her heart failed her. She passed by the door again and again, without having courage to go in and tell her errand. At length, Mr. N. standing at his shop-door, and seeing Martha in the street, called her to him, and said, 'Are not you Mr. Heywood's servant?' When she had, with an anxious heart, answered in the affirmative, he added, 'I am glad I have this opportunity of seeing you; some friends at M—, have remitted to me *five guineas* for your master, and I was just thinking how I could contrive to send it.' Martha burst into tears, and, for some time, could not utter a syllable. The necessities of the family, their trust in Providence, the seasonableness of the supply, and a

It was in this year, (1565) that the plague broke out in London, which carried off above 100,000 persons. The clergy belonging to the London churches, mostly forsook their parishioners in this season of extremity; but several of the ejected ministers, who had till now laboured only in private, influenced by a tender compassion for the souls of their suffering fellow-men, occupied the deserted pulpits, and hastened at every call to visit the pestilential chambers of the sick and dying, to administer the consolations of the gospel, or pluck the departing spirit as a brand out of the fire. They preached, and prayed, and exhorted with the zeal of martyrs, and the people listened to their ministry as in the near approach of eternity. The power of God was remarkably displayed in their preservation in the midst of deaths, and his grace was gloriously illustrated in the success of their exertions. Yet while those holy men were thus employed, the parliament, assembled at Oxford, was preparing greater hardships for the Nonconformists, as will appear from the sequel.

variety of other ideas breaking in upon her mind at once, quite overpowered her. At length, she told Mr. N. upon what errand she came, but that she had not courage to ask him to lend her poor master money. The tradesman could not but be affected with the story, and told Martha to come to him when the like necessity should press upon them, at any future time. She made haste to procure the necessary povisions, and, with a heart lightened of its burden, ran home to tell the success of her journey."

PART IV.

The Five-mile Act—Soliloquy—Mr. Heywood's Banishment from Home—His frequent Journeys, Labours, and Dangers—The Fire of London—Mr. Heywood's second Marriage—Various Journeys—Occasional preaching at Coley Chapel—Preservation and Labours continued—Sickness—Recovery, and renewed Labours—Severities increased—Reasons for preaching at his own House—Imprisonment at Leeds—The Conventicle Act revised and enlarged—Mr. Heywood fined for preaching at Coley Chapel—The spoiling of his Goods—Reproach for the Truth—Hazardous Labours—Divine Enjoyments in Private—Observance of Bartholomew's Day—Self-examination and Covenant—Remarkable Providence.

The Nonconformist ministers were driven from the places in which they had laboured, by the Act of Uniformity, and they were prevented from exercising their ministry publicly, by the Conventicle Act; but their distress was partially mitigated, by the kindness of their former hearers, by the pleasure they enjoyed in teaching them from house to house, and by their domestic comforts in dwelling with their own families. Such, however, was the spirit of persecution which then prevailed, that, because these excellent men would not violate their consciences by perjury, nor in their worship comply with the mandates of bigotted ecclesiastics, they were, by an English parliament, pronounced unworthy to partake of the common blessings of social life. While the plague was raging in the city of London, and the judgments of an offended God were threatening the nation, an act was passed to prevent Nonconformist ministers, except in passing on

the road, from coming within five miles of any *parish, town, or place wherein they had acted as ministers*, or within five miles of any city, town corporate, or borough, upon forfeiture for every such offence, of the sum of £40; one-third to the king, another to the poor, and the remaining third to the prosecutor. The only means by which the rigours of this act could be avoided, was by taking the following oath: "I, A. B, do swear, that it is not lawful, *upon any pretence whatsoever*, to take arms against the king: and I do abhor the traitorous position, of taking arms by his authority against his person, or against those that are commissioned by him, in pursuance of such commission: and that *I will not at any time endeavour any alteration of the government, either in church or state.*" The Nonconformist ministers were in general as loyal as most of his majesty's subjects, many of them had suffered in his cause, and they were willing to obey his authority in civil concerns; but to swear they would not, at any time, endeavour any alteration in the government of the church, was to renounce their nonconformity. When this act came out, those ministers who had any private property, settled in some obscure village or market town, that was not a corporation; whilst those who had nothing for their support but what they received from their people, were obliged to leave their wives and children, and wander from place to place, among those who were willing to entertain them, coming home occasionally in the dead of the night, to visit their families. The design of this act was to drive the ministers away from their kind neighbours, who pitied and relieved them, and thus by poverty, and pinching hunger force them to compliance; but the scheme totally failed, for the cruelty of this severe law raised them up friends wherever they went. Their

difficulties were truly great, but God mercifully provided for them, so that scarcely any perished for want, and though they were often imprisoned for breaking this law, none were imprisoned for debt.

Mr. Heywood, in a soliloquy on this act, thus expresses himself: "Another step the restless adversary hath taken, by God's permission, to disquiet poor, ejected ministers, by casting them out of their own houses, from their flocks and families, from cities and towns corporate. This act commences March 24, 1666, a clear evidence, that Satan and his instruments are unwearied in seeking to wear out the saints of the Most High. But the enemy has overshot himself, for this act, above all other means, tendeth much to the furtherance of the gospel. It produced strange thoughts of heart, and strong workings of affection at the separation of nearest and dearest relations; yet even in this it hath done some good, as well as in many other respects. Instead of one house that we had to preach in, we have now at least a score. By travelling abroad our acquaintance is exceedingly enlarged, and so are our opportunities of doing good: the persecution of seedsmen is the dispersion of the seed, which much tends to the propagation of the gospel. Whereas, before this act, we were confined to our own houses; we are now sent to many families with the word of life, and every honest man's house is our home. God hath not left us comfortless, but hath come to us and made us sweet and satisfying discoveries of his power and love to us in the houses of our friends. We find, by delightful experience, that the Lord is every where by his wisdom, power, faithfulness, and loving-kindness, and that it is as short a way to a throne of grace abroad, as at home: the omnipotent arm of a merciful Father can reach us even

at the ends of the earth. Blessed be God, men cannot banish God from us, nor us from him. The affliction is heavy on several of God's servants, and even on thee, O my soul, who hast had thy share of wandering already: but consider, thou hast wandered from thy God, and now he causeth thee to wander: a suitable punishment, wandering for wandering: though men be cruel, God is righteous. O my soul, couldst thou be content to enjoy a settled state when God's ordinances are in a great measure withdrawn, and the gospel seems to stand on the tip toe? Yet consider, it is not so bad as it might have been. Thou hast thy liberty to walk abroad at large, not shut up in a close prison as many; thou art not banished into a foreign land amongst a people of strange speech; thou art among thy relations and christian friends, and hast more opportunities among them than before: all which are advantages to health, estate, and spiritual graces. Hast thou not become more acquainted with the variety of christian states and experiences, and hath not this done thee good? Surely goodness and mercy have followed me all my days, and in all places. I have found precious mercies in prohibited places, where God hath watched over me and been a wall of fire round about me: never have I experienced such free liberty and large companies in my own house, as since I have been by law excluded from it. O what cannot God do! 'How unsearchable are his judgments, and his ways past finding out!' God telleth our wanderings, and putteth all our tears into his bottle. My soul, think it not much to wander, since thy dear Saviour trod many a weary step for thee: he had not so much as a place where to lay his head, though Lord of the whole earth, and King of kings! Labour to imitate thy master in going up and down doing good, and

leave some savour of goodness in all places where Providence doth cast thee. Few have thy advantages, for God hath given thee credit, and inclined his people to desire thy company. O my soul, be faithful in thy work, and, it may be, God will make thee successful; beware of self-conceit and ostentation, observe the calls of God, beg of him christian prudence, to direct thee in the disposal of thy journeys, follow the Lord in duty, and he will follow thee in mercy. Hitherto God hath secured and assisted thee in all thy ways, and he will guide thee by his counsel, and afterward bring thee to glory. There remaineth a rest for wandering pilgrims, a blessed rest on the bosom of Abraham, a house not made with hands, a city which cannot be shaken, and from which thou shalt never be banished. O blessed day! O happy rest which remaineth for the people of God!"

On the 24th of March, 1666, the day appointed for putting in force the Five-mile Act, Mr. Heywood began his "Diary," from which many of the following extracts are selected, containing a minute account of his journeys in this interesting part of his life. "This is a great scattering day," he says, "hundreds of ministers being by act of parliament banished five miles from the places where they formerly preached, if they take not an oath which they generally refuse; and this day I came out of Yorkshire to Denton, to live in exile. O the tears that have been shed for breaking up families, and separating husbands and wives, parents and children, pastors and people!" He now left his two little motherless sons in care of his faithful servant Martha, and set out on his pilgrimage, scarcely knowing whither he went. His first stage was to Halifax, where the day was spent in taking leave of his friends and former hearers. On this oc-

casion he says, "It melted our hearts, having been above fifteen years together, and there having been many endearments betwixt me and my people. The second day I came to Denton, it was the most tedious journey I have had that way, which I have gone many hundred times; but scarcely ever with so sad a heart, and in so severe a storm of weather. On Wednesday, my father Angier and I travelled to Sir John Stanley's, of Auderley, where I, being called on to go to prayer in that large family, the first night we came, was tempted to study and speak handsome words from respect to the company; but reflecting to whom I prayed, and that it was no trifling matter, I set myself to the exercise in serious earnestness, and God helped me to speak to him devoutly with respect to the state of their souls and the good of their family." Mr. Heywood and his father-in-law Angier, spent several days in various respectable families, in different parts of Cheshire and Lancashire, were entertained with the greatest hopitality, and embraced many opportunities of preaching where they visited. Having much leisure in this journey, Mr. H. completed his first publication, entitled, "Heart Treasure."

Notwithstanding the kindness with which they were every where received and entertained, Mr. Angier appeared out of his element, and longed to return home; indeed, he was partly compelled to return, being unfitted for much travelling by age and growing infirmities. He said to Mr. H. "Come, son, let us trust God and go home." They returned to Denton, and Mr. H. soon came to Yorkshire, when he thus wrote: "After six weeks wandering abroad to visit friends, I am at last arrived at my own house, May 3rd, in the night. I find my family removed, (but I hope it is for the better,) to a more commodious house at Coley-hall,

without land, which as times are, may prove still very much in my favour, with less danger, trouble, and hazard. Being left alone in my new house, I see God is to be found in all places; for my soul hath had a precious season: blessed be God. Many came to see me, and I spent two Lord's days at home, with a considerable number of Christians, to my abundant comfort. They were refreshing days and duties. I preached to my neighbours several times on the week days, and observed a solemn fast, May 15, with almost twenty in my house, and God was wonderfully with us. The morning after, by sunrise, I left home."

May 21st. I went to Leeds, a prohibited place. At night, I preached at J. C—'s house, where we had a very great number to hear. The Lord protected us; though a bailiff came to R. Hickson's house, where I slept, and therefore I chose to leave Leeds. On the Wednesday night, I went to Hunslet, where I preached to a full congregation, at J. Beck's house. The Lord made it a refreshing night to many souls, though our adversaries watched and gnashed their teeth, when they saw so many coming together. May 27th, spent the Lord's day at Penistone in public, without disturbance. There was a numerous congregation from all parts, and I had great liberty of speech in preaching and praying; but not those meltings of heart I have sometimes enjoyed, nor was I so affected with the state of souls as my heart desires. On Friday, June 1st, I returned home in the night, without danger, and spent the Lord's day there. God helped me in my work, and preserved me and my company."

The next day, Mr. H. set out on his third journey, but did not go far from home. On his return, June 5th, about 10 o'clock at night, he was assaulted near his house by two men. "The one," he says, "was ill

drunk; and as they came, they ranted and roared, saying, 'where art thou, Heywood? Come, and pay thy £40.' By the time they had got to the end of the barn, and not above two or three roods from the house, I met them; one had fallen, and the other was lifting him up. My horse was frightened and would not go past; at length having got him up, the man came towards me, and said, 'he would see who I was?' but the other held him off, and said, 'let him alone, come by, friend;' so I went by. But what would they have done had they known who it was? God held me from them, for I had not my own horse, and had on a grey coat, and did not speak, for they would have known my voice. Blessed be the keeper of Israel, who hath preserved my going out, and my coming in to this day." He might at this time with propriety have adopted most of the expressions of the Apostle Paul, when describing his labours and sufferings in the cause of Christ. He was "in labours more abundant," and though mercifully preserved from the horrors of a prison, yet he was "in deaths oft, in journeyings often, in perils of robbers, in perils by his own countrymen, in perils in the city, in perils in the wilderness, in perils among false brethren; in weariness and painfulness, in watchings often, in hunger and thirst, in fastings often, in cold and nakedness."

His diary shows how ready he was to expose himself to danger for the good of souls: "June 16th," he says, "upon earnest solicitation, I went to Bramley, in the night, about seven miles: God graciously preserved me. I preached three times on the Lord's day, and was much refreshed; the hearts of the people were evidently affected, and I hope some good was done. I visited friends by the way, and returned home on Monday night in safety. The night after, I went into Lan-

cashire, and kept the sabbath with a considerable number in the house wherein I was born. On Monday, I again travelled with my honoured father into Cheshire. At night we lodged at Dunham, with my lord Delamere, where we were nobly treated; yet I thought home and heaven were better than all this. I had affecting considerations of the excellency of grace beyond all this worldly pomp and splendour. Returned to Yorkshire, July 17th; and afterwards went into Lancashire, and preached again in the house wherein I was born; a great number flocked thither, so that there was not sufficient room for the people within doors. God made that (July 29th,) a blessed day to me. On the Monday night, at Bolton, Tuesday morning, near Bolton, in the evening, at Little Lever, and on Wednesday, at Breightmit, I had opportunities of preaching to considerable numbers. Aug. 6th, in the night came to my house once more. The two Lord's days I was at home, I spent with much enlargement, and had above forty persons each day, when God so concealed us that we were scarcely suspected, nor did my enemies know I was at home."

Being in constant danger, by residing near his late charge, he had serious thoughts of removing. "I had nearly determined to remove into Lancashire," he observes, "that I might be quietly at home, and have the benefit of a good schoolmaster for my sons; but my kind neighbours and hearers will not suffer it, they have prevailed on me to stay, and prevented my removal, which may be for my comfort in the issue. I preach in my own house three times every week, besides some work abroad. We have had more solemn and numerous meetings than formerly, almost 100 persons at once. We have a more private place than before,

where I can sing and speak as loud as I please, without fear of being overheard. I remained at home two Lord's days, with much enjoyment and safety: blessed be my God. I went according to appointment to Penistone, Nov. 3rd, 1666. After this journey I stayed at home two Lord's days, very comfortably and quietly, the Lord watching over me; I had considerable numbers both on the Lord's days and week days, and preached to those who came openly in the day time. I hear it was rumoured abroad that there are great meetings at Coley-hall, and a person told our neighbours they were resolved to catch me; yet hitherto God hath preserved and prevented me." He afterwards went abroad, and returned home, Dec. 19th. "Then," he says, "I stayed at home three Lord's days, followed my studies, preached thrice a week, had a large auditory, kept a fast, and God was very gracious to me all the time I was at home. Having gone again into Lancashire, I found that there are four persons under convictions through my ministry, of whom I never had heard before. When I came home, I found my son John very ill of the small pox. He speaks far beyond his age, and though in pain, he saith, his heavenly Father takes care of him. I continued at home two Lord's days, and was helpful to my family and many others, who flocked to my house, as doves to their windows, to the number of a hundred at a time, at least; God preserving us, who in his own due time did also graciously restore my son John, so that I kept a day of thanksgiving, and had several friends. It was a good day."

Scarcely had the dreadful effects of the plague terminated in London, and the persons who had fled, returned to their habitations, when the city was visited

by another awful scourge—the fire of London. This terrible conflagration began about midnight, Sept. 2nd, not far from the tower of London. Three or four days it continued its ravages, which no power of man could check, and at last it suddenly ceased, as if by a command from heaven. It consumed eighty nine churches, most of the city gates, the Guildhall, many public structures, hopitals, schools, libraries, a vast number of stately edifices, thirteen thousand two hundred dwelling houses, and four hundred streets. The ruins of the city extended over four hundred and thirty six acres. "It was a sight," says Mr. Baxter, "that might have given any man a lively sense of the vanity of this world, and all the wealth and glory of it, and of the future conflagration of the world; to see the flames mount up towards heaven, and proceed so furiously without restraint; to see the streets filled with people astonished, who had scarce sense left them to lament their own calamity; to see the fields filled with heaps of goods; to see sumptuous buildings, curious rooms, costly furniture, and household stuff, yea, warehouses, and furnished shops, and libraries, &c. all on a flame, and none durst come near to take any thing; to see the king and nobles ride about the streets, beholding all these desolations, and none able to afford the least relief; to see the air, as far as could be beheld, so filled with the smoke, that the sun shone through it with a colour like blood, yea, even when he was setting, it so appeared to them that dwelt in the west side of the city. But the most doleful sight was afterwards, to see what a ruinous confused place the city was, by chimneys and steeples only standing in the midst of cellars and heaps of rubbish, so that it was hard to know where the streets had been, and it was

dangerous for a long time to pass through the ruins, because of vaults with fire in them. No man that seeth not such a thing, can have a right apprehension of the dreadfulness of it." *

Most of the former part of the year 1667, Mr. H. spent in occasional journeys to preach the gospel of the grace of God to perishing sinners, in various parts of Yorkshire, Lancashire, and Cheshire.

"May 23rd," he says, "I took a journey with my family, that is, my children and servant-maid, into Lancashire. The Wednesday after, I united with my father, Angier, at Denton, on a public day of thanksgiving, being the anniversary of the king's return; and it was a delightful day. June 10th, I came home again with my family to Coley-hall. June 19th, upon a special call, I travelled to Sheffield, to keep a fast at Mr. Burbeck's house. I preached and went to prayer, but found not my wonted enlargement and assistance; as to personal matters, I was in some measure helped, but as it respected public concernments, I was much straitened. It was a solemn day, and there were ten ministers present; good old Mr. Wales† concluded.

* Narrative of Mr. Baxter's Life and Times, by Sylvester, Part III. page 17.

† Mr. Wales was a native of Idle, in Yorkshire, and when he had finished his studies, settled at Pudsey, a small chapelry in the same parish. His labours at this place were very great, and though his ministry was not blessed to his own people as he desired and others expected, yet he was made exceedingly useful to strangers who came to hear him, and in neighbouring places where he frequently preached. He had many lucrative offers from other places, but nothing could prevail with him to leave his people, for whose spiritual welfare he was extremely solicitous, till he was driven from them by the Bartholomew Act, after having faithfully served them fifty-five years. He died at Leeds, May 11, 1669, above eighty years of age. His motto was, "Less than the least of all saints."

There was also an excellent minister, a Mr. Sylvester,* of Mansfield, whom the Lord did very wonderfully carry out in the duty of prayer. Blessed be God for that day."

Mr. Heywood had remained in a state of widowhood above six years; but having formed a connexion with Miss Abigail Crompton, of Breightmet, near Bolton, not far from his own native place, they were married by Mr. Hyde, at Salford chapel, June 27th, 1667. On this event, he thus writes: "In this wandering state, God hath added another mercy to what he had previously granted—for he hath found me out a suitable partner. Our union was brought about through many interruptions, and the hand of God was evidently and eminently seen in the affair.

This union, under the circumstances in which it took place, was a convincing evidence of their mutual affection, and of their strong confidence in God. They were happily adapted for each other in reference to age, disposition, and religion. Mrs. H. proved what her husband expected—a prudent, faithful, and affectionate wife to him, and a tender mother to his sons.† Mr. Heywood remained about six weeks in Lancashire among his own and his wife's relatives, and, "July

* Mr. Sylvester was ejected from Gunnerly, in Lincolnshire, and became domestic chaplain to John White, Esq. of Mansfield. He went to London after the great fire in 1666, and was introduced to the celebrated Richard Baxter, who entertained for him the highest possible esteem. They preached together in the Charter-house Yard with much harmony: and when Mr. Baxter died, he left him his Manuscripts, some of which he edited. He died at the age of seventy-one, on the Lord's day evening, Jan. 25, 1708. See Wilson's History of Dissenting Churches, vol. ii. pages 108—111.

† She survived Mr. Heywood five years, and died at Northowram, June 12, 1707, in the 76th year of her age, leaving behind her an excellent character for hospitality and religion.

25th," he says, "I brought my wife into Yorkshire, to Coley-hall. Some friends went along with us to Middleton, and others met us at Littleborough: but I could not suffer many to go, because of my circumstances. We arrived in safety, and found all well. I preached in my own house on the Lord's day, had a considerable congregation, and God assisted and protected."

"After we had been a fortnight at Coley-hall, I took a journey with my wife, and came back August 16th. I went from home again August 23rd, and having preached nine times in seven days, returned. Blessed be God for work, and help, and hopes of a reward in due time. Sept. 19th, set forward on my journey towards Lancashire, where I preached with Mr. Pendlebury,* at Cockey chapel. Oct. 24th, we returned to Coley-hall, where we found my son John very ill of the measles, so that that very day, neighbours were called in to see him die; but God restored him. Eli-

* Mr. Pendlebury, though not so generally known as Mr. Heywood, was a most excellent man and useful preacher. He was a native of the parish of Bury, Lancashire. After having attended the grammar school, at Bury, he went to Christ's College, Cambridge, and when he had taken his degree of M.A. he returned home, and preached for twelve months at Horwich chapel, in Dean parish. In 1651, he removed to Holcomb, in his native parish, whence he was ejected by the Bartholomew Act. He continued preaching amongst his own people, and in neighbouring places, as he had opportunities, and was mercifully preserved from many of those outward sufferings which some of his brethren experienced for conscience and truth's sake. He laboured amongst his beloved people about forty-four years, and died in peace, June 18th, 1695. His memory is still revered in that neighbourhood. His works are: An Exposition of the Assembly's Catechism; A Treatise on Transubstantiation; A Treatise on the Sacrifice of the Mass; The Barren Fig-Tree; Invisible Realities; the Books Opened. A few of his Sermons, copied from MSS. still in preservation, together with an account of his Life, may be seen in the "Select Nonconformists' Remains."

ezer had also passed through that disease in our absence, and Martha, our maid had been near death; but blessed be our God, who hath not made a breach upon us, nor laid them all under sickness at once, and hath now wonderfully raised them. O for a thankful heart! Friday week, after our return, we observed a solemn day of thanksgiving for the recovery of my family, wherein God graciously assisted such as helped me on that occasion."

Mr. Heywood sometimes occupied his old pulpit, during Mr. Hoole's ministry, at Coley chapel, when he was supplying elsewhere and had left the place vacant. "Jan. 5th, 1668," Mr. Heywood says, "I preached at Coley chapel, in public, Mr. Hoole having given notice the Lord's day before that he should be absent; and I took the advantage of the vacancy. We concluded on it only the evening before, and the morning was so exceedingly windy, that few could hear the bell; but in the afternoon, there was a very great assembly. The Lord graciously assisted, and it was a good day: as for the effects of it, the will of the Lord be done."— "July 4th, (1669) I had resolved to preach at home; but Coley being destitute, they opened the doors and rung the bell, where I preached all day without interruption. There was a numerous congregation, though I did not know of preaching till after eight o'clock that morning. Blessed be God for this liberty. Sept. 19th, this Lord's day again, in the absence of Mr. Hoole, I preached at Coley chapel. O what a good day it was, and what a sudden congregation was collected! We had great peace, notwithstanding many threatenings and fears."

"Jan. 24th, 1668, I went, according to appointment, towards Bramley, to preach there on the Lord's day; but E. H. came to my house to prevent me, because

Mr. Hardcastle* had been taken at a meeting at Leeds the Tuesday night before, and they were afraid of danger. Providence so ordered it that I had set off, and we missed each other. He found me at Pudsey, and we resolved to keep to our purpose. I lodged at Mr. Sales's† that night, and on Saturday went to Bramley. Preached there on the Lord's day publicly, where was a numerous and crowded congregation. We had peace all the day, and it was a pleasant day. On Monday I went to Holbeck, and preached there that night at E. Wildman's house, and had a great auditory. I purposed going to Leeds, but a friend sent me a letter, to inform me a constable and others were watching for me there; this diverted my course to Beeston, then to Morley, where I lodged at Mr. Dawson's house, and preached to a large company which had been quickly assembled. Feb. 5. I journeyed to Wakefield, to visit Mr. Hardcastle in the House of Correction, sent there for holding a conventicle. The day after I dined with him in his degrading prison, and we had much conversation together. The two following Lord's days I preached in my house, but it could not contain the number of hearers that attended, because there was no preaching

* Mr. Hardcastle was ejected from Bramham, in Yorkshire. He was a man of good abilities and a bold spirit, fearing no danger; but of great moderation and catholicism. He frequently suffered imprisonment for his Nonconformity in various parts of the kingdom. He became the pastor of a Baptist church at Bristol, and died there in 1679. See Nonconformist's Memorial, vol. iii. p. 426 and 526.

† Mr. Sales was born at Pudsey, he had exercised his ministry at Lincoln, Thornton chapel, and Leeds. After his ejectment, he lived at his native place, and was a great comfort to old Mr. Wales, the minister of the place. He preached much in the neighbourhood, till disabled by a lingering disease. He died, April 21st, 1679.

at the chapel. Both afternoons we were in the hall,* which was filled with hundreds of people. I was much affected to see so many of my old hearers in a private place. Blessed be God for these precious seasons. I preached at home on the day called Easter Sunday, God helped graciously. Though the constable hath a warrant to search my house for a conventicle, yet he came not. I spent the next Lord's day at J. Brooksbank's, being persuaded to it, because of a proclamation the day before at Halifax against conventicles; but at four o'clock in the afternoon, I preached at home, and had a full auditory."

"April 12th. They having no minister, I preached at Cockey chapel. There was a numerous congregation, and God granted us liberty and peace, though the High Sheriff and his father-in-law, Dr. Bridgeman, Dean of Chester, were not far off, and the trumpeter came at noon to an alehouse near the chapel. Blessed be God! The Lord's day after, I preached publicly again at Cockey in the afternoon, though a conformist preached in the morning: but he was willing I should share with him in the work. At night, I preached at J. Pilkington's."

During his many wanderings and frequent labours, Mr. Heywood enjoyed a state of good bodily health; but on his return home from this journey, he was threatened with a severe fit of illness, which the Lord mercifully abated and speedily removed. "Returning from Lancashire," he says in a soliloquy, "April 30th, the Lord visited me with a sore sickness, which began as if it would terminate in a violent fever; but in about five days, he blessed the use of means for the recovery of this poor frail body. Health itself is a rich blessing; what would many give for the possession of this jewel?

* He now lived in part of Coley-hall.

Other outward comforts cannot compensate for the want of it. Many are languishing with pining sickness or tormenting pain, so that from morning to night God is bringing them to an end. But thy God, O my soul, hath cased thee in a healthful body, so that thou mayest follow thy work. Except a little head ache, this frame hath had no sickness these fourteen years. Blessed be my God, who causeth the voice of joy and health in the habitation of his unworthy servant; and now when a sickness must needs come, there have been choice ingredients mixed with it. God brought me home; why was I not seized when abroad? I was no Lord's day out of employment, and had many friends to contribute their best assistance; but above all, the Lord was ready to save me. O my soul, the Lord hath dealt gently with thee; not because thou wast better than others, but he saw thou couldst not so well endure a tedious affliction. O what a good God do we serve! He doth not chasten us beyond our strength, but suits the burden to the back; in the midst of judgment he remembers mercy. 'As a father pitieth his children, so the Lord pitieth them that fear him.' This God whom we serve secures us from a thousand deaths and dangers, bestows upon us many mercies, and is a present help in time of trouble. He dealeth not so graciously with all men, nor so gently with all his people as with me. And now, my soul, since God hath placed thee under the law of kindness, do thou study and practise the law of thankfulness; thou hast reaped the fruits of God's mercy, let him reap the fruits of thy duty. Give thy body to God, who hath redeemed it by his Son's blood, and hath now again redeemed it by his powerful hand. Let the strength thou hast received be laid out to edify the church. The last fever thou hadst, God raised thee up to do him considerable

service in converting souls. O that it may be so now! May this recovery be a sign that I shall go up to the house of the Lord! We kept a day of thanksgiving in private; but when shall we sing songs to the stringed instruments in the house of the Lord? O that such a blessed day might come. What a sweet revival would it be, even as life from the dead! Then would my life be a life indeed! What is my life worth but to glorify my God, and further his work in the world? May I not do something towards promoting these great ends in my present condition? Such as improve not small talents will not improve larger opportunities of serving God. O my soul, engage in thy work more earnestly, and do something notable for him who hath dealt so graciously with thee."

Having been favoured with restoring mercies, we find him diligently employed in his Master's work, notwithstanding the difficulties attending it in those times. "May 22nd," he says, "we went to Bramhope, to visit an afflicted gentlewoman there, my lord Fairfax's sister. From thence we went to W. Thompson's, near Headingley, where I was to preach, and there we met with a remarkable providence. One Mr. Morrice, a constable, observing many people go, went to Mr. Wade, a justice of the peace, who refused to go with him; but he prevailed with Mr. Foxcroft, another justice and alderman of Leeds, who came and brought other two men with them. They knocked at the door as we were concluding, which being perceived, I was conveyed by a private way into the barn; the four men went in, and the multitude of people rushed out and went away. Those that stayed were pressed to give in their names, which was refused, and after the men had stayed about an hour they went away. They

made a slight search, but I was gone out by a back way to S. Ellison's, near Bramley, where we remained till Wednesday. Aug. 8th, my wife and I went to Pudsey, according to my promise, but we were informed that a bailiff of Morley had been with C. Smith, and they had consulted together. It was suspected they would disturb us and apprehend me, and I made full account of it; but God held them off, so that we enjoyed a very agreeable and quiet sabbath. Old Mr. Wales was providentially there, though sent for that day to his dying wife. There was a multitude of people from all parts. The gentleman of the place, Mr. Wilner, invited me to preach, and entertained me. I returned safely home, blessed be my God."

Mr. Heywood continued actively employed the remainder of this year, 1669, and experienced a continuance of the divine protection. March 28th, I preached at Hunslet chapel, where there was a numerous congregation, both within doors and without, such a multitude I have seldom seen. God cleared my way regularly for preaching there, though another person was designed for that day. He protected me graciously, assisted me in my work, and made it a comfortable day, blessed be God. June 26th, I preached at Morley. When I was in the pulpit singing a psalm, in comes Mr. Broadhead, vicar of Batley, to the clerk, and bade him tell Mr. H. to come out and let him have his own pulpit, and then hasted away. He left his gown at a house, took horse and went to Batley, and told justice Copley what a multitude of people there was at Morley hearing a Nonconformist; he took no notice, but let us alone, and so through God's mercy we enjoyed the day quietly; and it was a good day, blessed be God. The Lord's day after, Mr. Copley took Mr. Hancock

at Alverthorpe, near Wakefield, and hath sent him with two more, prisoners to York Castle, this adds to the mercy, that I escaped their hands."

Government perceiving that the conventicle act was much evaded, a proclamation was issued to enforce the laws against the Nonconformists, and the judges in their circuits gave a strict charge to the juries to the same purpose. "Methinks," says Mr. H. "God and man are close at work. The whole creation seems to fight against a rebellious kingdom, and yet men are maintaining a desperate combat against the Lord of hosts. God hath sent lately a terrible motion of the earth, July 7th, and a powerful wind, July 25th, which hath done much injury to the corn; yet a proclamation was sent forth July 16th, against the Nonconformist private meetings, and a strict charge was given against us by the judges at the Assizes. Shall the heavens rend with thunder, the earth tremble, and God's judgments threaten, and my poor soul not be affected? O heart! more prodigious than all these prodigies! O what a wretched heart have I! Is not God coming against us like an armed man? Lord, what wilt thou do with England? Hath not the destroying angel of the plague done his errand effectually? Hath not the sword eaten flesh and drunk blood till it is almost glutted? Did not the fire of God's vengeance find plenty of fuel in London's streets? Surely God hath been very angry, yet we may justly fear that these are only drops before the shower, the beginning of sorrow, and prologues of ruin. The Lord in his infinite mercy prevent the dreadful day of England's downfall! Methinks the Lord makes sad approaches towards us. The heavens grow black over our heads, the earth trembles under our feet, the air is infested with astonishing tempests. We have had a

famine of spiritual food, but that hath not been regarded, yea, men have rejoiced that the earth-tormenting prophets have been silenced; but what the Lord doth mean by this earthquake himself only knows. It is fit language for earthly men, who make this earth their heaven. Ah Lord! when shall men's hearts quake? O that sin might be shaken away! But profaneness abounds beyond measure, and men are striving which shall be at hell first. It is doubtful whether God's strange work, or men's horrid impieties shall be the greater prodigy! Surely our sins are almost ripe, and and the sickle is at hand to cut down this sinful nation. Lord, prevent it by disposing us to a true and timely repentance, that England may live in thy sight. Are there such sins in our land as the Lord will not pardon? Is there no balm in Gilead for a wounded, dying kingdom? It is true, our iniquities testify against us, but do it for thy name's sake, O Lord. What a mercy would it be, to see burning and shining lights in our candlesticks, converting work revived, believers united in heart and judgment, discipline established, men's inventions abolished, profaneness punished, holiness promoted, and in all these, God glorified, souls edified, the kingdom of Christ advanced here in grace, and the kingdom of glory hastened!"

Mr. H. was fully satisfied respecting the propriety of his conduct in prosecuting his ministerial work, though it was in opposition to the laws and proclamations of the civil authorities. His determination was not the hasty result of a momentary impulse, but of deliberate investigation relative to the path of duty, as appears from the following paper, dated Nov. 23rd, 1669:

"Reasons why I keep at home and preach on Lord's days, though not constantly. Not that I despise

the public ordinances, or cannot hear the sermons of conformists; but,

"1. Because God hath given me a call to preach; and in my ordination I solemnly promised before many witnesses to continue in my duty, notwithstanding all trouble and persecution. Now, I dare not play fast and loose with God and my conscience; and if men cast me out, I ought to do my work more privately, though I would study to do it as prudently as the Lord enables me.—2. Because I had a clear call to preach at Coley; indeed God spake to me with an imperious voice when he sent me hither, for with my good will I would not have come, and he has continued me here almost twenty years, hath blessed my poor labours here, and created such a special relation between me and many of the people as no power of man can dissolve.—3. Because there are some who cannot be satisfied to hear in public; though I have used several means for their satisfaction, yet they will spend their time in private, and are in danger of mispending time or being seduced to ways of error, since Satan and his instruments are busy to draw off unstable souls from the good ways of God.—4. Because the spiritual court (as they call it) did excommunicate me, after which Dr. Hook sent to me to desire me to forbear coming to church, and N. Whiteley would have put me out of Coley chapel; after this, I judged God called me to improve my time in private, which I had no thoughts of, till I was persecuted and driven out by men's violence.—5. Because God hath exceedingly satisfied, quickened, and assisted my spirit in private. Several years togther I have spent the sabbath with about ten, or twelve, or more persons; and O what a time of love hath it been! I never met with so much of God's presence in all my life; many a time I have thanked God

for the occasion of withdrawment, for he did me good against my will.—6. Because God hath made use of me to do good to others. He hath helped me by this means to lay out my poor talent for the good of souls, and hath not altogether withdrawn his blessing from my endeavours; and if I be instrumental in gaining one soul to God, I have part of my reward: this is my main study and design, though dead, to make souls live.—7. Because there is great need of all God's harvest-men to be at work, for the harvest is great and the labourers are few. I say not but there may be honest preaching of sound truths in some public places, though in too many we find mere quibbling, great deadness, little good done, and profaneness much abounds; God calls all that can, to put out a helping hand in this great decay of religion.—8. Because God hath smiled upon us in his gracious providence. Hitherto I have not been imprisoned, nor questioned; all designs against my liberty have proved abortive; no weapon against me hath prospered. Some who have done little have been more molested, but God hath secured me. This, in addition to former arguments, is an encouraging one."

The proclamation of government and charges of the judges had partly the desired effect of renewing the spirit of persecution against the Nonconformists, and Mr. Heywood soon felt the consequences. March 14, 1670, he was apprehended at Leeds at a private meeting and carried before the mayor, who treated him roughly, and ordered him to be confined in a dungeon called Capon-hall. He asked him if he had not been in their hands before. Mr. H. replied, "Your worship may be mistaken as to my person; I am no mover of sedition; in political concerns, I do not interfere; all I seek is to bring sinners to repentance, and thus pro-

mote the spiritual and eternal welfare of my fellow creatures. I was never imprisoned but once, and that was for the king, in the attempt made in his favour by Sir George Booth." By the mediation of some of the respectable inhabitants of the town, he was set at liberty the next day. The following are his reflections on this circumstance: "God hath been admired in my liberty in his work and worship; but, lest I should presume, he hath once given me over into the hands of men. I was committed by the mayor of Leeds to the common prison, where I lodged all night and the day after, the day forty years on which I was baptized. By the interposition of some friends I was released, though about fifty persons who were there, were fined five shillings each, at the sessions. Reflect, O my soul, on this critical part of thy life. What were thy thoughts in that imprisoned state, and what useful meditations canst thou frame thereon? Though the place was barren, yet it is a fruitful subject; and were thy heart right thou mightest find it enlarged amidst thoughts on a prison. O my soul, remember the affliction and the misery, the wormwood and the gall, that thou mayest be humbled by repentance, and raised in thankfulness and new obedience. God was to be seen in that business. It was he that led me into trouble, and he alone that brought me out, whoever were the instruments. How secure and carnally confident were we! Who ever expected a surprise? When the officers were in the house, we could scarcely believe our own eyes! We had enjoyed a long day of liberty, dreamed of impunity, and thought none durst meddle with us. Lord, when things smile most, make my heart most jealous; and when all looks black, raise within me some glimmerings of hope; let me be neither fearless in the best, nor hopeless in the worst estate. I was

taken and put into another's custody when I thought least of it, and set at liberty suddenly and unexpectedly; God was good in both. O my soul, learn God's mind in all this. Did constables lead thee away in the night with lanterns? So they did thy dear Saviour, who was a prisoner, and endured worse things for thee. Did the magistrate give thee sharp reviling words? Yet not such bitter language as was given to Christ. Did they lead thee to be imprisoned? He was led away to be crucified. O how small a matter is this to suffer for such a Saviour! How many of God's servants have suffered much more, and few that have been imprisoned have come off upon such easy terms. God put me into the fire and quickly caught me out. Lord, now I am at liberty, let me be thy servant, cast down my vain imaginations, knock off the bolts of sin that I may work for thee; take off the fetters of worldly entanglements, that I may walk to thy glory; open to me the iron gates of difficulties, that I may go with freedom among thy saints to praise thy name. Lord, let my release be a presage of a general jubilee to thy silenced ministers, and oppressed people. God executeth judgments for the oppressed; he looseth the prisoners, and raiseth up them that are bowed down. It is as easy for God to take off the restraints from the Nonconformist ministry, as to release one from imprisonment. Surely the hand of my God hath been upon me for good. It was his work to moderate the officers in the surprisal, and soften the jailor's heart towards me in my confinement. He sent me many loving visitors, concealed the worst from my affectionate wife, inclined the hearts of the chief people in the town to intercede for me, bowed the mayor's heart to accept their entreaty and treated me with respect, prevented snares in my release, and brought me off with honour. It

was the Lord's doing, and is marvellous in our eyes; yea, in the eyes of very many. Lord, affect my heart with these strange providences, and produce the like deliverance for thy church. Thou showest us in this, what thou canst do in raising up instruments, changing men's minds, succeeding efforts, and restoring persons and things to their due and best settlement."

At the close of the preceding year, it was reported that the king was inclined to favour the Nonconformists, and some of the London ministers presented an address on the subject. His majesty received them graciously, and promised to do the utmost to get them admitted into the establishment; but this, like some of his former promises, was soon forgotten. Instead of an enlargement of their privileges, the Act against conventicles was renewed and made more severe than before. It was enacted, "That all clauses in this act shall be construed most largely and beneficially for the suppression of conventicles, and for the justification and encouragement of all persons to be employed in the execution thereof; and that no warrant nor mittimus shall be made void or reversed for any default in the form, and if a person flee from one county or corporation to another, his goods and chattels shall be seizable wherever they are found." By this act, the most infamous characters were encouraged to become informers; multitudes of perjuries were the result, to obtain the rewards; convictions took place without juries; heavy penalties were inflicted; houses were plundered, and the peaceable inhabitants disturbed any hour of the day or night, if some malicious neighbour pretended there was a religious meeting. Well might Mr. Heywood exclaim: "Behold a disappointment! We looked for peace, but no good came; we hoped for enlargement, but behold restraint; God's anger may be

seen in man's displeasure. A fourth act of parliament against the poor Nonconformists is come forth, laying heavy penalties on all that are found at private meetings, which are called seditious conventicles: viz. five shillings each for the people, £20. for the minister, £20. for the house, £100. for a justice of the peace if he do not prosecute, and £5. for an inferior officer; besides such circumstances as bespeak it artfully and wickedly framed, and such as leave us no evasions. This takes place May 10th, 1670, and hires the vilest wretches to turn informers, in hopes of the third part of all the fines; five persons make the meeting unlawful. Lord, whither will the rage of men transport them? How long shall the wicked triumph? They have driven us into corners by the Act of Uniformity, and will they not let us alone in them? Did they not banish us from our habitations by the Five-mile Act, and is that deficient? Did they not make one Act against conventicles, and was not that sufficient for our punishment but it must be enforced by another for the same purpose? Do they not suspect the validity of the former, why then superadd another? Do they not see that no weapon formed against God's people prospers? Do not the Jews at length discern, that rolling a great stone, sealing it, and setting a watch, are but making it as sure as *men* can? God can invalidate men's power. Who ever hardened himself against God and prospered? Where are the proud persecutors of former ages, and the edicts of emperors engraven in brass and executed with blood? Blessed be God, the Lord Jesus reigns, and will reign till he has made all his enemies his footstool. They are so far from hindering, that they shall help Christ up to his throne. The wrath of man shall praise God, and the remainder he will restrain; the more unreasonable men grow the

more God will appear, and the more equal will his ways of justice be found. O my soul, mourn for thy sins that have procured these acts, and pity those that have framed them. Alas! that swearing, blasphemy, drunkenness, and sabbath-breaking should find so little discouragement by the laws of man, and that all their care is to suppress religious exercises. Lord, open rulers' eyes, to see that true religion is the support, and profaneness the undermining of the nation."

The severity of these measures did not cause Mr. Heywood to desist from his zealous labours, but made him the more indefatigable in his exertions, though, for a season, at least, more careful. "May 8th," he mentions, "I preached at Coley-hall. We had a large auditory and a delightful day, reckoning it to be a farewell, because of the new Conventicle Act. On Tuesday, we kept a private fast at Mr. Dawson's: it was a wonderful and heart-melting season. On Thursday, we kept a fast at Mr. Ramsden's. The Lord's day after, I preached at Dinah Tetlow's, where we had just the number. Monday, we kept a private fast at J. Priestley's. Tuesday and Thursday, I preached to the appointed number. Afterwards I preached several times in the week at home, admitting only four at a time; and sometimes I preached abroad, and in friends' houses."

It has already been seen, that Mr. H. sometimes preached at Coley chapel, in the occasional absence of Mr. Hoole, without interruption; but his adversaries could not be content to let him enjoy such opportunities with impunity. "May 22nd," he records, "as I was rising out of my bed, my servant came to inform me, that there were two men desiring to speak to me. Their business was to ask me, if I would venture to preach in the chapel, Mr. Hoole being absent, and, no

notice having been given of a vacancy, many of the people would come and be disappointed. At first, I absolutely refused. They told me they should be sorry to bring me into trouble, but if I were willing, the chapel doors should be opened, and the bell rung as usual. I hesitated a while, consulted some neighbours, begged direction of God, and on the following considerations, at length consented:—They were my ancient people; I had been forcibly thrust from them; the spirits of opposers seemed to be now much moderated; it being Whitsuntide, if there were no service, the sabbath would be profaned; many persons accused us for not being bold enough to venture upon duty where there was the appearance of danger; and, in a word, I considered the example of the Lord Jesus Christ, who would go into Judea, though he knew the Jews there sought to kill him. But this consideration had the greatest weight on me—the souls of poor sinners, said I within myself, are of such value as should induce us to hazard all, where there is the prospect of being useful to them; and who knows, but God may have designs of mercy to accomplish on some this day? Upon this, I went to the chapel about nine o'clock, and having entered the pulpit, I read some portions of scripture, and after a psalm was sung, I prayed and preached without interruption. My text was, Judges v. 31, 'Let them that love him be as the sun when he goeth forth in his might.' Soon after one o'clock, in the afternoon, we assembled again; but before the service was concluded, Mr. S. Ellis brought the churchwarden and overseer threatening to fine them £5. each if they refused to act. The officers seemed to dislike the business, but S. E. pushed them on before him. One of them was so awed and ashamed that he was seized with a fit of sickness, sunk down into a seat,

and could not lift up his head, nor give any account of the persons present. The informer walked from place to place in the chapel, looking at the people to see who they were, and now and then fixing his eyes upon me, but saying nothing. This occasioned some distraction to us, but I was enabled to go on, requesting the attention of the congregation, and desiring them to look in their bibles for the proofs to which I referred for the confirmation of what I delivered. When the officers went out, S. E. sent one of them in again to take down names. He returned himself, and walked through the chapel, sometimes standing at the end of the seats, looking people in the face, and then going out into the yard to complete his list of names. But though the place was filled with his own neighbours, he and the officers were so confused, that they could not make out the names of more than ten persons in the congregation. About eight days after, Mr. White and Mr. Copley, two justices, took my affair into consideration. The informer was present, asking the officers from time to time, Did you not see such a person there? But of the many hundreds who were in the chapel on the day above mentioned, still only ten could be nominated."

"July 13th, J. M. constable, T. H. and S. W. came to make distress on my goods, with three porters to carry them away. The constable took hold of the bed whereon I used to lie, and putting off his hat, said, I seize on this bed for his Majesty's use. I told them it was sufficient for them to mark the goods, and leave them till there were persons to buy them. They replied, the informer will buy them. So they took the bed and bedding, some tables, chairs, chests, and books, to the value, at least, of £14. My wife desired them to take chairs instead of the meal-chest. They, however, paid no regard to her entreaties, but taking a

curtain and spreading it on the floor, they poured our little stock of meal upon it, and took away the chest. They carried the goods to a public-house, where they had bespoke a good dinner, telling the people they should have overplus goods in plenty to pay for what they might spend. They got persons of their own cast to value the goods; and, upon their partial valuation, they amounted to £10. 16*s.* 8*d*; but they were certainly worth much more. Ten large books they valued at thirty shillings. They sent about the bellman in Halifax to cry a sale of the goods, but they could not sell one article. The justices told the officers, they might take them and divide them among themselves; but this they did not choose to do, as they said they had no immediate occasion for them. The constable, growing entirely weary of the business, was glad to deliver all up to the man who succeeded him in the office. The people of the house, where the goods were lodged, grew impatient about them, and told the officer, if he did not take them away, they must be thrown out of doors, for they would not have them any longer. They then got leave to lay them up in a barn, at Coley-hall, a year after they were seized. At length, one R. Reyner came with a cart to convey them to Wakefield.* When they were loading the cart, one of the men said, in derision, 'Where is Heywood's God now, to whom he used to pray so much?'"

On this transaction, Mr. H. remarks: "Lord, whither will not men's rage carry them if left to themselves? Is plundering in fashion in times of peace? Must preaching the gospel cost confiscation? Are there laws to authorize robbery? Shall Magna

* Ten years afterwards, they remained at Wakefield as useless commodities.

Charta and common humanity have no place? Shall poor ministers have their estates taken from them for preaching, instead of living by the altar? Are these all the wages we must have for our studies, preaching, and prayers? Can the ungrateful world afford us no better reward? Father, forgive them, they know not what they do! O that this sin may not be laid to England's charge! Is preaching the word grown so heinous a thing, that it must be construed into sedition? Is it likely that sedition can be hatched in a public congregation, where all are free to hear? But this is no new thing. Paul was accounted a mover of sedition, and Elijah, a troubler in Israel. But why should I exclaim against men? They act according to their nature and commission from above; God doth that righteously which men do impiously. The Sabeans and Chaldeans took away Job's property, but he saith, 'The Lord hath taken away.' 'Is there evil in the city, and the Lord hath not done it?' The hand of God is in this. O my soul, lay to heart thy indisposedness in that day's duty. Examine thy principles, rule, and end. Take shame to thyself in what thou seest amiss, and give God the glory of what was his own. Be nothing in thyself, and let God be all in all in what thou dost for him; then when God and thy soul are friends, submit to his good pleasure, rejoice in tribulation, suffer joyfully the spoiling of thy goods, and be not only content, but thankful for the honour of losing any thing for God. Remember the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, who, though he was rich, infinitely rich, yet for thy sake became poor, that thou mightest be rich; and art thou unwilling to become poor for him? Dost thou love thy goods better than thy God? Have men left thee no table to eat at, or bed to lie on? Thy Lord Jesus had not

where to lay his head. Dost thou live by borrowing? Bless God thou hast friends of whom to borrow. What great difference is there between thy own and others' goods, if thou hast the sight and use of them? Property is little more than a fancy. Bless God thou hadst any thing to lose in his cause, and that he will accept such poor offerings. Who am I, that God should honour me so much? Many richer than I, have not lost so much in the cause of God; this is free love! Lord, forgive my ingratitude! I was lately prisoner for God, and now he hath honoured me with the loss of part of my estate for him; it is welcome—welcome prisons, losses, crosses, reproaches, racks, and death itself, if the Lord call me to it, and will enable me to endure it to his glory. The suffering side is the safe side. God might have left me to have been a persecutor; but he hath long employed me in active work, and now in suffering work: this is as acceptable as the former. O that God would pity the instruments of this my trouble! O that God would give the world to see a greater beauty in suffering for Christ, who now partly pity me for my loss, and censure me for my rashness! O that God would pity this poor nation, involved in so much guilt by persecution, and exposed to so much wrath and indignation from above!"

On the same day that his goods were seized, Mr. H. says, "I preached in the afternoon to the number four, on Heb. x. 34, 'Ye had compassion of me in my bonds, and took joyfully the spoiling of your goods, knowing in yourselves, that ye have in heaven a better and an enduring substance.' On Friday I preached again from the same text, and on Saturday went into Lancashire. July 21st, returned home and found all well: blessed be God for this journey; 23rd, I went

to Pool, and preached in a chapel there. Blessed be God that a new door is opened for God's people. I preached several times at home in the course of the week, and on the Lord's day four times, twice at home and twice abroad."

He had suffered joyfully the spoiling of his goods for his attachment to the work of the Lord, and he was called to experience public reproach also, for maintaining the truths of the gospel. "That my sufferings may be complete," he observes, "God hath added reproach to all the rest. Last Lord's day, July 31st, 1670, Dr. Hook took occasion to controvert an expression in my book of *Heart Treasure*, which is this: 'Though grace be of greater worth, it is disputable whether it attain to greater strength than corruption, even in the hearts of the sanctified, in this life.' He called this, an unheard of assertion, and loaded it with dreadful consequences, as patronizing all profaneness; adding, that on this principle he may be a good man who is only as much sober as drunk. He exclaimed most bitterly for a quarter of an hour against such as will dare to preach and print such dangerous errors. What I there say is *disputable*, Dr. Reynolds, bishop of Norwich, lays down as a *positive assertion* in these words: 'Original sin is stronger in the regenerate than the graces they have received.' Strange it should be an error in my book, and a truth in his; but partiality blinds men. I am glad he hath found no greater error in my book, than what my own sad experience too evidently demonstrates. Alas! I fear there were bitter railing accusations against an absent person. But why do I find fault with him? Hath not God bidden him, as David said, of Shimei? Hath not God sent this for my further humiliation? Is it a christian spirit in me to

snarl at the stone that is cast at me? No, God forbid! I will lay my hand upon my mouth and be silent. The will of the Lord be done. If my reproach may promote God's glory it is as welcome as my loss. I am not the first that hath been called a deceiver of the people; my dear Saviour underwent much more. Reproach is grievous to a generous spirit, but reproach for Christ is welcome to a gracious soul. Can we expect better fare than our Saviour, who was accounted one that wrought his miracles by the devil's aid? Moses esteemed the reproach of Christ greater riches than the treasures of Egypt; and shall we be afraid of it? God forbid! Did not the primitive Christians rejoice that they were accounted worthy to suffer shame for his sake: and shall we fret at it? O that God would help us all, and me in particular, to act as becomes Christians, to act honourably under dishonour, to pass on cheerfully in our christian course, through good and evil report, to give no occasion to the adversary to speak reproachfully, and to pity and pray for our adversaries. O that God would clear up our innocence, roll away our reproach, and set us as stars in the firmament of the church!"

These persecutions for righteousness' sake did not prevent Mr. Heywood from pursuing what appeared to him the path of duty, but made him more courageous and daring than before. "Aug. 6th," he informs us, "I went to Shadwell to preach there; and though, the Lord's day before, officers went to take the minister, and I heard as I went of purposes to disturb us, yet God preserved us all that day in quietness. It was a good day, and we had a numerous assembly deeply affected On Friday, returned home and found all well: blessed be God. O for a thankful heart! The Lord's day after, young Mr. Root preached at Shadwell, when

Lord Saville, Mr. Copley, Mr. Hammond, and forty troopers from York came and took Mr. Root, carried him to York Castle, and took four or five hundred names of people, seized their horses and made them pay five shillings apiece before they had them again. This was on August 28th, on which day I was earnestly desired to be there; I had promised, but my visit was afterwards postponed. Mr. Root was kept close prisoner, put into the low jail among twelve thieves, and had double irons on him four days and nights; but on Capt. Hodgson's importunity with Mr. Copley, he was released. Oct. 4th, I went to help him in a day of thanksgiving for his deliverance out of prison. God was present on that day. From Lord's day morning till Friday night I preached nine times. Blessed be God for work; methinks I am never better than when I work most. Dec. 27th, I went to E. Hickball's; when I had finished, and was sitting by the fire taking a pipe, the constable and others came, they were five in all. They knocked at the door, and wanted to know who were in the house? They came into the parlour where we sat still. We asked them what they saw in us more than others? Surely friends may visit each other this Christmas time. A little while after they went away, sat at the alehouse, and wrote down our names. What they intend to do, the Lord only knows. One Binns a young man, went and fetched the constable to obtain money; but we had done our work when they came. The next day we had appointed a fast to be kept at Sam. Ellison's, but I had no sooner got thither, than the constable who had followed us arrived. I went away and the others assembled at D. Parker's. The constable came to demand fines in the Shadwell business about Mr. Root."

The religious opportunities Mr. H. now enjoyed,

were mostly of a private nature, and with small numbers: but the Saviour's promise to his disciples was abundantly fulfilled in his happy experience; "Where two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them." The garrets and chambers in which Mr. H. occasionally dispensed the word of life to a few of Zion's travellers, were frequently converted into Bethels by the presence and blessing of the Most High, and amidst the darkness of their midnight assemblies they were cheered by the light of the Sun of righteousness: the more men persecuted, the more God comforted. "March 24th, 1671," he mentions, "we had a private meeting at my house, and partook of the Lord's supper. O! it was a delightful season; though I did not find my heart so much melted that day as the day before in preparation, wherein I was much carried out in the confession of sin, and renewing my covenant with God. April 19th, we had a comfortable day at J. Priestley's. O what a frame was my heart in; it hath seldom been so drawn out. Blessed be God; he will bow his ear when hearts are prepared. On the 21st, my wife, sons, and maid, set out with me on a journey into Lancashire. At Denton I preached on the Lord's day for my father Angier, who still enjoys his liberty. On Monday we kept a solemn day of thanksgiving in my father Angier's study. O what a day was it! I may almost say none like it. These prayers and tears God will hear. I despatched some worldly business about my small estate in Little Lever, and sealed writings, by which I am become a purchaser, I hope in presage of our future settlement, parallel to the case of Jeremiah. I confess it is strange, I should buy land in such a day as this; but my case is almost like the prophet's, I am necessitated to buy it. I should have preached at Cockey chapel on the Lord's day;

but though I was invited, I was put off disingenuously, for they durst not venture. I preached morning and night at brother Crompton's. On Thursday, we came to Rochdale, on our way homewards: but a messenger came to us about four o'clock in the morning, to acquaint us with the death of brother Laurence Crompton, whom we left well on Monday. It was a sudden and astonishing blow. May the Lord sanctify it."

The anniversary of the 24th of August, a day so distinguished in the records of the English church, and so memorable in the history of Dissent, was observed with great solemnity by the ejected ministers, and ought not to pass unnoticed by their successors and descendants. It was generally kept by the former as a day of fasting and prayer, and might be well occupied by the latter in reviewing the annals of Nonconformity, or in examining and illustrating the principles and reasons of Dissent. The following are specimens of the manner in which this day was noticed by Mr. Heywood: "Aug. 24, 1665, being the killing day of all Nonconformist ministers, I appointed a fast at my house, and propounded four things: first, to lament before the Lord this sad judgment; secondly, to inquire of God what was the cause; thirdly, to beg of God the sanctified use of this dreadful stroke; and fourthly, to entreat God to remove it.—Aug. 24, 1670, being Bartholomew's day, just eight years since the Nonconformists were struck dead by the sad Uniformity Act, we kept a fast that day in my house, and had the help of some christian friends. O! it was a sweet day. My heart was wonderfully helped, melted, and enlarged. O for an answer of peace!—This being Aug. 24, 1671, called black Bartholomew day, I resolved to keep a fast: and because I came home only last night, and could get no other company, I kept it with my

family. The forenoon we spent in prayer. Eliezer * prayed first, very sensibly though short. John prayed a long time, and exceeding pertinently and affectionately, weeping much: I wondered at it. God helped our maid, my wife, and myself wonderfully. O what a melting duty was it! In the afternoon I prayed, and preached to a considerable number of people. Blessed be God for this day; he will hear."

Such happy seasons encouraged Mr. H. to continue waiting on God in private, and emboldened him in the persecuted ways of Nonconformity. "Aug. 27th," he says, "I preached at home as usual, had a numerous assembly, and God helped. Two bailiffs of Bradford were at a neighbour's house, and took a man; but God either hid us from them, or chained them up: blessed be his name. Sept. —, I went to keep a fast at Mr. Sharp's, Little Horton. Mr. Sales preached, Mr. Sharp,† Mr. Waterhouse,‡ Mr. Boys, and I prayed. I was much straitened in prayer; God is wise. Perhaps I was conceited of myself, and others expected too much from me. I have not felt my spirits so out of frame, this long time; but God made amends, for I had wonderful meltings of heart when another was engaged in duty. It is welcome; let me be ashamed, so that God may be glorified and my heart bettered.

* Eliezer was only fourteen, and John fifteen years of age at this time.

† A long and familiar aequaintance was preserved between Mr. H. and the family at Little Horton. Mr. Sharp was related to the arehbishop of the same name, and beeame the minister of the congregation at Mill-Hill in Leeds, where he died, Lord's day, Aug. 27, 1793, aged 60. He was a man of very superior abilities, and his death was much lamented.

‡ Mr. Waterhouse was ejeeted from Bradford, after whieh he lived privately, oecasionally preaching in his own house. He was a learned man and mueh esteemed.

There was a considerable number present of different persuasions. It was a good day. Sept. 13, we had a private day of fasting and prayer, and I preached. It was such a day as I never had in all my life, that I remember. My heart was exceedingly drawn out for myself, my family, congregation, and country, with such a measure of feeling, weeping, and elocution, as if I had been taking leave of my people and the world.—Lord's day, Jan. 14th, 1672, I preached at home, and there was a great assembly, because there was no preacher at the chapel. About one o'clock, tidings were brought to me, that S. Ellis had obtained a warrant, and was resolved to come and break us up, which occasioned me to dismiss the people. The rest of the day, Captain Hodgson and I spent in prayer. God made that providence work much good."

When Mr. Heywood was prevented from proclaiming the truths of the gospel as publicly as he desired by preaching, he was resolved to edify his people, and bless the church in future days by employing his pen. It was in this period of his life, he completed his publications entitled Heart Treasure—Closet Prayer—Sure Mercies of David. These compositions, as may be naturally supposed, have some relation to the times in which they were written,* and contain a compendium of the divine truths that mostly occupied his attention,

* In his preface to the last of these, dated June 1670, he evidently refers to the spoiling of goods which he and many of his fellow-sufferers endured about this time: "The tyrant's rage cannot pluck sure mercies out of your hearts and hands. This consideration is of singular use in a losing time. Men may take away our estates, liberties, and privileges, but they cannot take away our spiritual mercies. They may degrade us, and remove us from our functions and offices, but cannot dissettle our souls from relation to Christ, or a state of grace, or from blessed influences of grace."

and comforted his mind in this season of trial and persecution.

The various circumstances recorded in this chapter, show how diligently Mr. H. was employed in promoting the spiritual welfare of others, and the following passages prove he was equally careful of the life of religion in his own soul: "This day, July 31st, 1671, having the opportunity of solitariness, all my family being from home, I set myself solemnly to religious exercises. I first read the 139th Psalm concerning God's omniscience and omnipresence, with tears in my eyes, commenting upon it and applying it to myself. I accordingly set myself as in the presence of God, desiring to deal truly and faithfully with my own soul in self-examination, and to lay open all my known sins. I fell down upon my knees, and for about an hour the Lord helped me to open my heart before him, to confess my iniquities with grief, sorrow, and shame, so far as I could call them to mind, and to cry to God with many tears for pardon of, and power against my sins. God brought my bitterest enemies to my thoughts, and helped me seriously to beg mercy for their souls, for my relations, for the congregation at Coley, for all other congregations, for my native land, and some other objects. The Lord hath given me some secret intimations of pardon and acceptance, and did communicate himself graciously to my heart. These things being considered, I am pressed in spirit to renew my covenant with my God in writing, as I have been doing it on my knees. O that God would help me to plain dealing in this case, that I may not deal falsely either in making or keeping covenant with him. So far as I know any thing of this treacherous heart, I desire to be upright and downright in this business; for none is privy to these things but God and my own conscience: and I

do this the rather, because I have found my own heart inconstant, that I may bind myself under my own hand-writing, taking my warrant from Isa. xliv. 5."

"Dreadful Jehovah, I am thy poor creature, and a grievous sinner, a transgressor from the womb, and a wanderer all my days to this moment; lying under the guilt of the first man's first sin, and following such ruinous steps in various actual transgressions. I am by nature a child of wrath, a slave to Satan, under thy curse, and liable to hell torments; but thou hast, of thy own infinite mercy, spared my life, and preserved me in the world above forty years. Thou broughtest me up under religious parents, gavest me thy good word to read and hear preached, didst touch my heart with remorse for sin and cause workings of heart, before I was twelve years of age; and though I backslided fearfully into great sins and a course of security, yet thy Spirit hath several times fetched me home again, and thy grace hath indulgently received me. Still I find a deceitful, backsliding heart withdrawing from the living God; and, having tried prayers, tears, vows, and fastings, still my heart gives me the slip, and grows formal, distracted, and secure. I here call thee, my God, to witness, that it is the desire of my soul to cleave to thee with full purpose of heart. I do therefore acquiesce in, and admire thy glorious design of saving lost mankind by thy blessed Son, my precious Saviour, Jesus Christ, being God-man, the only Mediator between an offended and righteous God, and guilty, condemned sinners. I thankfully accept of him as my only Prophet, to teach me by his word and Spirit the way of life; as my Priest, to make satisfaction to thy justice for my sin, and intercede for my soul; as my Lord and Sovereign, to rule and govern me. And, though thou hast helped

me to preach many a sermon, to put up many a prayer, and to distribute spiritual and bodily alms, I renounce all as if I had done nothing, and rely only upon thy grace and the merits of thy Son for my justification; and if ever thou accept me here or save me hereafter, I must put all to the account of free grace alone. I do also here give up myself to thee, body and soul, all that I am, have, or can do, or shall be, to thy service and use, looking upon myself henceforth no more as my own, but the Lord's, entreating thee to sanctify my whole soul, and spirit, and body, resolving by thy grace to spend and be spent for thee. If thou hast given any faculties of soul, gifts of mind, strength of body, or opportunity of service, I resolve, and hereby promise to employ all, in the way of my duty, to thy glory, depending only upon thee for strength and assistance. I do also unfeignedly bind myself, under every obligation, to fight against Satan's temptations, to mortify my most beloved lusts and corruptions, to avoid all appearance and occasions of sin, and to this end, to study thy holy word, to perform all the duties thou requirest of me, and to walk all my days in obedience to thy revealed will, to love mine enemies, deny myself, bear the cross thou layest upon me, and follow the Lord Jesus, what way soever he shall be pleased to lead me. If, at any time, through the weakness of my flesh and the strength of temptation, I be overcome, my desire and design are, by the assistance of thy grace, to rise again by repentance, to confess my sins, to make fresh application to the blood of Christ for pardon, to renew my engagements to sin no more, to be more watchful over my own heart, humbly hoping for mercy according to the covenant of thy grace, desiring thee not to leave me at any time to myself, but to hold me in thy hand that my footsteps

slip not. O that thou wouldest crown these engagements with strength of performance and perseverance to the end! I thank thee, that thou hast given me a heart to make this covenant, that thou hast accepted me through my surety, through whom all my good flows from thee, and through whom myself and all I do are accepted by thee. Thus I have avouched the Lord to be my God, hoping thou dost ratify it in heaven according to thy word. This is the day of my solemn contract with thee, in the sadness of my heart lamenting past failures, and hoping and longing for completion of this engagement in the kingdom of heaven with joy and triumph. Thus do I make bold, O my God! to subscribe myself,

Thy devoted servant for ever,

OLIVER HEYWOOD.

This Instant, July 31, 1671, *in my Study, at Coley-hall.*

"August 29th, 1671. I set myself to review my state, and especially my course of life since my solemn entering into covenant with God. I find many things amiss, and have not kept close to it; but have omitted and carelessly performed duties, closed with temptations, committed sins, and fallen again into a course of carelessness and lukewarmness. I have therefore first dealt with my own heart, which I found in an ill frame. Then read Hosea xiv. which I saw was adapted to my condition: I commented on it, and my heart was melted. Then I fell on my knees, and found some measure of God's presence in confessing sin and supplicating mercy. I laid the bible on my knees, and improved those commands, directions, promises, and pathetical reflections of true penitents in that chapter. My heart was a little more warmed, the fire burned,

and O what a flame did God excite in my soul! Now I experience that God heals backsliders, and that he loves freely. O that the same free grace may prevent future backslidings! May I never again return to folly as I have done! Alas, I have found a wretched, treacherous, abominable heart! I have great cause to suspect the truth of my repentance, whether it be suitable and sufficient, because it is so ineffectual to prevent sinning. I have fallen by mine iniquity; it is a wonder I am not in hell! God be merciful to me a sinner! None knows how vile I am! I am afraid of falling into sin again; afraid to go out of my study into the world, company, or employment. I find little strength, and am weary of the world, weary of my sinful heart! 'O wretched man that I am! who shall deliver me from the body of this death?' When will death part body and soul, that it may part my soul and sin? When shall I be above the reach of Satan's temptations or occasions of sin? Lord, hasten that blessed release, that I may be with Christ, my Lord. Amen."

The late Dr. Fawcett has recorded an interesting and remarkable providence concerning Mr. Heywood, which probably occurred during this period of his life, though no account of the circumstance is to be found among his manuscripts now extant.* The anecdote

* In a correspondence with the Writer of this Memoir, relative to this anecdote and another given page 115, the late venerable Dr. Fawcett says: "The particular dates of these events I am not able to ascertain with exactness, but the facts have been so strongly, so invariably, and so constantly affirmed, by persons of undoubted verity, some of whom I could name, and others who have been long dead, that I have not the least reason to doubt the truth of them. The late Mr. J. Hudson, of Clayton, informed me, that fifty years ago he conversed with an aged woman, who was present at the meeting at Moneybents in Craven, where Mr. H. was

is as follows: "One winter's morning, while it was yet dark, the horse was saddled, and this good man set out, like Abraham, when he left his father's house, not knowing whither he went. He went along in bye ways for some time, for fear of being seen. Having nothing in his pocket to bear his travelling expences, he committed himself to the protection of Providence. He determined at length to leave his horse at full liberty to go what way he would; and thus travelled on till both were weary. Towards evening, the horse bent his course to a farm-house, a little out of the road. Mr. H. called at the door, and a decent woman came out to enquire what he wanted. 'I have reason,' said he, 'to make an apology for giving you this trouble, being an entire stranger in these parts. My horse stands in need, as well as myself, of shelter and refreshment for the night; if you could any way make it convenient to furnish my horse with a little hay, and a stand under cover, and myself with a seat by your fire-side, I ask no more.' The good woman, a little

entertained, and though then but a child, she had, when Mr. Hudson saw her, a perfect recollection of the circumstances recorded in that part of the story." After this period Mr. H. repeatedly mentions going to visit and preach to his friends in Craven: and when his son John went in Sept. 1678, to live with John Hey, in Gisburn parish, he was "to preach to that people," says Mr. H. "*to whom I have a special relation.*" He also notices having been called to preach in Craven three times in the summer of 1678, and says of the people: "They are willing to attend ordinances, and every time I go the number is increased, and God stirs up some affections. I found my heart more than ordinarily enlarged in pleading for their conversion when amongst them the last time, Aug. 10th, (1676.) It is an ignorant place, and hath had no good preaching there for many generations, and now there is a moving, who knows what may be done? There are some serious, gracious Christians among them, which occasioned my going, and with whom I have had delightful communion in fast days, and at the Lord's supper."

surprised at his request, told him she would consult her husband. After a few minutes, they both came to the door, and Mr. H. repeated his solicitation, but told them he had no money to satisfy them for their trouble; yet he hoped God would reward them. They immediately desired him to alight; the master led the horse into the stable, and the mistress began to prepare something for Mr. H. to eat. He told her, he was concerned to see her give herself so much trouble, he did not request either a supper or bed, but only to sit by the fire-side till the morning. The mistress assured him, that for an act of hospitality she did not expect any reward, and that though the accommodations her house would afford, were but indifferent, he should be welcome; and therefore hoped he would make himself easy."

"After supper, they all sat down by the fire, and the master of the house desired to know of the stranger, what countryman he was. 'I was born,' said he, 'in Lancashire, but I have a wife and family in the neighbourhood of Halifax.' 'That is a town,' said the farmer, 'where I have been; and some years ago I had some acquaintance there. Pray do you know Mr. S. and Mr. D.? And is old Mr. F. yet alive?' The stranger gave suitable answers to these, and other enquiries. At length the kind hostess asked him, 'if he knew any thing of one Mr. Oliver Heywood, who was formerly a minister at some chapel not far from Halifax, but was now, on some account or other, forbidden to preach.' The stranger replied, 'There is a great deal of noise and talk about him; some speak well, others say every thing that is bad of him: for my own part I can say little in his favour.' 'I believe,' said the farmer, 'he is of that sect which is every where spoken against; but pray, do you personally know him? And what is

it that inclines you to form such an indifferent opinion of his character?' 'I do know something of him,' said the stranger, 'but as I do not choose to propagate an ill report of any one, if you please we will talk on some other subject.' After keeping the farmer and his wife in suspense for some time, who were a little uneasy at what he had said, he told them, he was the the poor outcast. All was then surprise, and joy, and thankfulness, that a merciful Providence had brought him under their roof. The farmer said, 'Mr. H. I am glad to see you here, having long had a sincere regard for you, from the favourable report I have always heard of you. The night is not far spent, I have a few neighbours that love the gospel, and if you will give us a word of exhortation, I will run and acquaint them. This is an obscure place, and as your coming here is not known, I hope we shall have no interruption.' Mr. H. consented; a small congregation was gathered; and he preached to them with that fervor, affection, and enlargement, which attending circumstances served to inspire. On this joyful occasion, a small collection was voluntarily made to help the poor traveller on his way."

PART V.

Mr. Heywood's thankfulness for private Liberty—Declaration of public Liberty to the Nonconformists—Mr. Heywood's removal to Northowram—Receipt of License—Reflections—Formation of a christian Society at Northowram—Church covenant—Union of Presbyterians and Independents—Mr. Heywood's Labours and success—Ordination at Manchester—Dr. Hook's Opposition—Dedication of his sons to the Ministry—Personal Covenants.

In the preceding detail we have seen the severity with which the Nonconformists were treated; and, though Mr. Heywood was involved in trouble for preaching publicly at Coley chapel, yet he was protected in his private labours. This mercy made a deep impression on his grateful heart, and he set apart Jan. 31st, 1672, as a day of thanksgiving. On this occasion he says, "It was a good day. Reflect, O my soul, on the circumstances of thy case. What! a day of thanksgiving in so sad a time of affliction! Is it seasonable? Is it not a solecism to rejoice in a day of sorrow? No. As public restraint may be consistent with private liberty; so private thankfulness may be consistent with occasion of public mourning. It is true, carnal joy is unsuitable to the time of the church's sorrow; yet spiritual joy may be maintained in the midst of outward grief. Blessed be God that we have his presence though in private. I have now been at Coley-hall above six years, and have had interesting, frequent, and numerous meetings all the time without disturbance: and doth not this deserve our thankfulness? Well may we bless

God for a little opening of the door of liberty, though there be many adversaries, for praise may push it further open as well as prayer. The Act of Parliament saith, five shall not meet; God saith, five score shall meet to worship him in private. Men say, we shall be punished; God saith, no, 'touch not mine anointed, and do my prophets no harm:' and it must be according to the divine commission. Men shut, but God opens; the omnipotent God is beyond impotent man. God's ordinances wherever dispensed, are the gate of the Lord, into which the righteous do enter. Who knows what good the Lord hath done to precious souls in a private way? He is the same in a chamber as in a church; God orders all for the best. Little did I think to have been thus employed; my resolution was to attend in public, if not to be a speaker, at least a hearer; but God hath seen good otherwise to dispose of me, for when men had thrust me out of public work, he employed me in private. I have many times thought and said, 'I will not make mention of him, nor speak any more in his name,' at least in this place and in these times; 'but his word was in my heart as a burning fire shut up in my bones.' Sometimes I have altered the time and given notice to the contrary, but it would not do, the people have pressed in upon me, frequent vacancies have occurred at the chapel, and poor souls have been famishing and crying out for a morsel of spiritual bread. I have put my credit, estate, and liberty in my hand to distribute to them the word of life, and God has secured me so that I have never suffered for private work at home, though for what has been public I have been plundered. Blessed be God for this door of hope in the valley of Achor: though I am civilly dead, yet 'I shall not die but live, and declare the works of the Lord.' 'This is the day

the Lord hath made, we will rejoice and be glad in it.' O Lord, make this private brook to hold out till thou give plentiful rain upon the earth." This sacrifice of praise was accepted, and some of the above remarks were partly prophetical.

It is notorious that Charles was a papist, and under the pretence of a conciliatory disposition towards the persecuted and oppressed Nonconformists, he sought to encourage popery. Had he been the real friend of the ejected ministers, he would not have suffered them to have groaned ten long years under the grievous yoke of penal laws. By an exertion of arbitrary power, he was pleased to suspend the execution of the laws that had been passed against the Nonconformists, and issued a declaration, dated March 15th, 1672, in which it was acknowledged, "that there was very little fruit of all those forcible methods which had been used for reducing erring and dissenting persons." This declaration was a merciful and unexpected answer of prayer, and was received as such by Mr. Heywood, who says: "March 18th, I went to keep a fast at J. Smith's near Great Horton. God wonderfully helped my heart both in prayer and preaching, but especially in prayer for the church, and for poor ministers, that (after a silence of almost ten years,) their mouths might be opened. Indeed it hath long been my earnest request, but then more enlargedly; and behold a sudden return! On Tuesday two messengers came, one from Halifax and the other from Leeds, to bring me the joyful tidings of liberty to Nonconformists to preach in public places. I confess it was welcome news, and almost incredible; but having heard the particular relation together with the reasons assigned, I was bound to credit it, and rejoice in God's mercy. Ezra vii. 27, 28, came into my thoughts upon hearing the news;

and with respect to the return of prayer, Isa. lxv. 24, is very applicable. This day, March 20th, we had appointed for a solemn fast, and God sent in this mercy beforehand to melt our hearts and encourage us in our waiting on him. Truly it was an affecting day; God wonderfully drew out my heart, and I hope will give further returns of prayer." This indulgence was very cautiously received by the Nonconformists, for they knew the king was not influenced by love to them, and some would not embrace the proffered liberty, lest they should be considered as sanctioning his arbitrary measures, and encouraging popery. Mr. H. was one of eighteen ministers who assembled at Manchester on the 19th of April, to consult what steps they should take, when they unanimously agreed to embrace the opportunity of usefulness thus afforded them.

About this time, Mr. Heywood being under the necessity of removing from Coley Hall, where he had resided six years, he returned to the house at North-owram, where he had first become a housekeeper, and in which he continued till removed to that house which became his eternal home. The house with two crofts he purchased of B. Boys, of Halifax, for a hundred marks. As Mr. H. was an attentive observer of the ways of Providence, and as there were some remarkable circumstances attending this purchase and removal, he has left a minute narrative of the event, from which the following is an extract. "March 4th, 1672, I paid for my house, and have it assured to me and mine as strongly as the law can make it. There are several observable providences interwoven with this affair. 1. This is the place in which I kept house immediately on my first marriage. Here my two sons drew their first breath, and in it my very dear mother breathed her last, ascending from thence to heaven.

Here I have enjoyed much mercy, and experienced some affliction; I prefer it above all the houses in the country. 2. It comes to me clear of every objection, none opposing. 3. It comes to me seasonably, when we knew not what course to take; we had been expressing our gratitude to God, and this occurrence took place. A sense of mercy is acceptable to God, and obtains further mercy. 4. God hath in a surprising manner enabled me to make this purchase. After I had been ejected from my living, and cashiered as a minister. After I had been exposed to persecution, and had suffered the loss of property, the liberality of the friends of religion placed me in better pecuniary circumstances than those in which I had been before. 5. My manner of leaving it was strange. The year before the Cheshire-rising, being suspected, I was apprehended and prosecuted as a plotter, and as one disaffected to the state. Two young men, rash and heady, prevailed upon my landlady to remove me, having raised my rent twice before. I was turned out of the house in 1660, in hopes of driving me from the chapel; but God found me another house. The house, after I left it, remained empty several years, and the eldest son of the landlady is in necessitous circumstances, while I am restored to the place again, in point of title, as my own. 6. It is a gracious providence that God should order a settlement for me and mine at Coley, to which my heart is attached more than to any place in the world, having been here above twenty-one years. God blessed my public labours when I lived in this house more than all the time before or since, and who knows what work he hath for me to do still? However, I shall not be at the pleasure of persecuting landlords. When men curse, God blesses; when men resist, God assists; when men withraw, God affords supply; the worse

men are, the better God is. 7. As a presage of future mercy, on my return home, in the evening my son read Jer. xxxii, wherein methinks there are several particulars parallel to my case. Jeremiah was a prisoner, to punish him for preaching, and to hinder him from preaching; and though we are not all prisoners, yet that is the legal punishment for our preaching, and we are shut out from the discharge of our office. Hanameel came to Jeremiah when in prison to entreat him to buy the field; so J. Priestley came again and again, urging me to buy the house, &c. The prophet also was to buy it for himself when in a persecuted state; so though we are driven from the revenues of the church that we may live as we can, yet God provides. Jeremiah knew at last it was the word of the Lord; so I am abundantly satisfied this is God's will, after having earnestly by prayer committed the matter to him. The prophet delivered the evidences of the purchase to Baruch before witnesses, to be kept in an earthen vessel as a token that houses, fields, and vineyards would be possessed again in that land; and O! that I could with good ground say, that this my purchase is a type of the restoration of ministers to their respective places. We have cause to fear some captivity. The Lord fit us for it, and make good his promises to our posterity. However, the prophet went to prayer for his people after he had made the purchase, and God answered him; so, O my soul, unite this civil purchase with spiritual prayers, and in due time the Lord will answer. Amen."

A few days before Mr. H. removed to his new habitation he received his license to preach publicly, and he immediately availed himself of the privilege.*

* In the Northowram Register, in page 16, there is a considerable blank, and at the bottom of the page Mr. Heywood has

"This time two years," observes Mr. H. "when the act against conventicles came out, so severely enforced by penalties, I remember having said, I was persuaded none would suffer by it, at least that £100. in fines would not be paid in all England. But I was mistaken, for many suffered deeply, yea, God was pleased to punish my folly and security by a £10. fine on myself. This day, May 4th, I received my license, signed with the king's hand-writing: and accordingly I have made use of it, and preached on Rev. iii. 8, to a numerous company in Coley-hall, which is the last day I am likely to be here. Blessed be God for this mercy. On Wednesday May 8th, we removed, and God made us find favour in the eyes of our neighbours. That morning, both in my study and in the family, God sweetly enlarged my heart in prayer, and also at night in my new habitation at Northowram. It is rather strange that the declaration for liberty, and my restoration to my former place of abode, after twelve years' absence, with a better title, should come both together. I am apt to think there is something from God in it more than ordinary. As God continued me in this house almost as long as my public liberty; so the most part of my usefulness as a minister, was granted me when I lived here. O that God would restore all the rest with this house and license!"

When reviewing this double mercy he exclaims, "Surely God hath demonstrated the truth of that word, 'The heart of the king is in the hand of the Lord.' We begged liberty, and God hath given it us,

written: "This long interval of almost ten years, I was parted from the exercise of my ministerial function, by the Act of Uniformity in August 1662. Restored again to my work by the King's Declaration, March 12th, 1672, to ministerial employment in my own house."

but the manner is beyond our contrivance; that the laws should still remain in force, and yet we are preserved by authority! Our case is like that of the Jews in Esther's days, for though our adversaries gnash their teeth, they cannot prevent our liberty. O what cannot God do! It is true, there is cause of grief that Papists and Atheists enjoy so much liberty, but we have opportunity of resistance; we have liberty to do good, as they have to do hurt; we have as much leave to serve God as they have to sin against him. O that we may have hearts to improve our opportunity in God's way and to his glory! May the Lord compensate for the time that has been lost these ten years, that the promise in Joel ii. 25—27, may be accomplished, "I will restore to you the years that the locust hath eaten, &c.' God hath provided a very convenient and spacious meeting place in my new habitation. O that it may be said, 'this and that man were born there!' The Lord blessed the house of Obed-edom, and all that pertained to him because of the ark of God. The ark is at present brought under my roof by public authority, and now I wait for a blessing on my soul, my family, and the church in my house. Who am I that I should have a house to live in, when many better than I, have 'wandered about in sheep-skins and goat-skins; being destitute, afflicted, tormented: of whom the world was not worthy?' Who am I that I should have a house of my own, when my Lord Jesus, the Lord of life and glory, when on earth, had not where to lay his head? O that I could set as little value on worldly things as my dear Saviour did! O that my heart may be in my heavenly home, and seek a better country, a firmer house, and a city which hath foundations, whose builder and maker is God! God forbid! that I should now begin to build tabernacles on

earth; rather may my soul breathe after that 'house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens.' Lord, help me to use this house for thee and thy friends, in acts of piety to thee, and hospitality towards the members of the Lord Jesus Christ." This freedom of worship after so long restraint, was like a resurrection to the oppressed Nonconformists. We who live in these days of religious liberty can form but an imperfect idea of the value our forefathers set on this indulgence: it was to them "a little reviving in their bondage," and "the word of the Lord was precious in those days." Multitudes flocked to seek spiritual blessings, "and the power of the Lord was present to heal them." Shortly after Mr. H. went to his new habitation, and made use of his license, such numbers attended that many sometimes went away, not being able to press into the house, nor come within the sound of the preacher's voice.

Mr. Heywood having this favourable opportunity, and being convinced of the propriety of establishing church order, formed the pious part of his congregation into a regular society, to whom he statedly administered the gospel ordinances. This important work was conducted in the most solemn manner, and with fervent prayer. The following are copies of the covenant engagements into which he and the people entered on this occasion:—

"I, Oliver Heywood, in the county of York, minister of the gospel, having spent above twenty years in the Lord's work, amongst the inhabitants of Coley chapelry, having been suspended ten years from the public exercise of my ministry, and now at last restored, upon the earnest prayers of the church, to the discharge of my pastoral work in my own house, by his Majesty's declaration and licence, do willingly and

thankfully accept of this open liberty of my ministry, lamenting my former neglects, justifying the Lord in the evil he hath brought upon us, begging reconciliation and a better heart to do God's work more faithfully, imploring his blessing for success, and now resolving, by the assistance of God's grace, to give up myself to the Lord's work among this people, in studying the scriptures, preaching the word in season and out of season, praying with and for them, watching over them, instructing, admonishing, and exhorting them publicly and privately, endeavouring to convert sinners and to confirm, quicken, and comfort saints,—to administer baptism and the Lord's supper, and exercise discipline according to the rules of the gospel, so far as I am convinced from the word,—to set before the people a holy example, resolving, by the grace of God, to suffer affliction and persecution with them, if God call me to it, as a faithful soldier of Christ and a pastor of souls, that at last I may give up my account with joy, being pure from the blood of all men: so promiseth the unworthy servant of Christ,

" Help, Lord." OLIVER HEYWOOD."

The church covenant into which the persons then entered, who constituted this christian society, is as follows:—

" We, the inhabitants of Coley chapelry and others, being professors of the christian religion, do willingly and heartily subscribe to the doctrine of the gospel contained in the scriptures of truth, and solemnly profess our faith in God the Father, the Creator of all things; in Jesus Christ the Son of God, the Redeemer of God's elect; and in the Holy Ghost, the sanctifier and comforter of the faithful; and do give up ourselves to the Lord in covenant, according to the terms of the

gospel, to be ruled by his will revealed in the bible, acknowledging the need we have of the ministry of the word and the seals of the covenant for our edification :—we do still own Mr. Oliver Heywood, whom God hath wonderfully restored to the exercise of his ministry amongst us, as our rightful pastor, formerly chosen by us ; and we shall be willing, by the assistance of God's grace, to believe and practise what truths and duties he shall make manifest to us to be the mind of God, desirous to maintain communion with God and one another in his holy worship, and to discharge what duties he requires of us in his word, as members of one body and as occasion shall offer :—we resolve, by divine assistance, to walk in our places as becomes the gospel, in all good conscience toward God, one another, and all men :—and we purpose to do this to the end of our days, against all opposition from the persecutions and allurements of the world, the temptations of Satan, and the corruptions of our own wicked hearts, in order to the glory of God and our eternal salvation."

Every individual member of this society afterwards made the following declaration :

" I do heartily take this one God for my only God and my chief good ; and this Jesus Christ for my only Lord, Redeemer, and Saviour ; and this Holy Spirit for my Sanctifier ; and the doctrine revealed by Jesus Christ, and sealed by his miracles, and now contained in the holy scriptures, I do take for the law of God and the rule of my faith and life : and repenting unfeignedly of my sins, I do resolve, through the grace of God, sincerely to obey him, both in piety towards God, righteousness towards men, and special love to the saints, and communion with them, against all temptations of the devil, the world, and the flesh : this I resolve to do, even to the end of my life. I do also

consent to be a member of the particular church at Northowram, whereof Mr. O. Heywood is teacher and overseer, and to submit to his teaching, his ministerial guidance and oversight, according to God's word: to hold communion with that church in the public worship of God, and to submit to the brotherly admonition of fellow-members, that so we may be built up in knowledge and holiness, and may the better maintain our obedience to Christ, promote the welfare of this society, and hereby the more please and glorify God."

These mutual engagements were entered into by Mr. H. and his people, June 12th, 1672, when the ordinance of the Lord's supper was first administered to this dissenting church at Northowram, and on which occasion, Mr. H. thus writes: "Though my heart was out of order in preparation work, yet in the exercises of that day I was much melted and carried out towards God. O it was a delightful day! God united our spirits, so that afterwards we made a solemn profession of our faith, and entered into an engagement to be the Lord's. The people renewed their owning me to be their pastor, and I solemnly owned them in that relation, to discharge all ministerial duties to them. O that we may perform what we promised."

This christian church was formed on Presbyterian principles; but Mr. Heywood's liberality of sentiment being known, several persons who had formerly been members of the Congregational church at Sowerby,* previously under the pastoral care of Mr. Root, re-

* After Dr. Fawcett, in his Life of Mr. Heywood, has said that Mr. Robert Tillotson was a member of the congregational church at Sowerby, and that he was the father of the celebrated archbishop Tillotson, who was born at Haugh-End in the township of Sowerby and parish of Halifax, he relates the following anecdote:—

"Mr. Robert Tillotson went up to London, on a visit to his son, when he was Dean of Canterbury, and being in the dress of a

quested leave to unite with the church at Northowram. "June 18th," says Mr. H. "there was a solemn meet-

plain countryman, was insulted by one of the Dean's servants, for inquiring if John Tillotson was at home. His person, however, being described to the Dean, he immediately exclaimed, 'It is my worthy father,' and running to the door to receive him, he fell down upon his knees in the presence of his servants, to ask his father's blessing." He also adds, "The following epistle from Mr. Tillotson to Mr. Root has been preserved, which being literally copied, will no doubt gratify the curious reader:

'For his much respect. friend Mr. Roote, att Sorbey in Yorkeshire, are these.

'Sir,

'To excuse the slownes and infrequency of writeing, is growne a thing soe complementall and common in the frontispeece of every letter, that I have made choice rather to put myselfe upon your candor to frame an excuse for mee, than goe about myselfe to do it.

'I cannot but thankefully acknowledge my engagements to you for your kindnes showne to mee, both when I was in the country, and at other times; I shall not here let my pen run out into complementall lines, gratitude (and that as much as may be) being all that I desire to expresse.

'As for our university affayres, things are as they was before I came into the country, only wee have lesse hopes of procuring Mr. Thomas Goodwin for our Master then we then had. Wee are in expectation of the Visitors every day, but what will be done at their comming wee cannot guesse.

'The engagement is either comming downe hither, or (as I heare) already come, to which how soone wee may bee called upon to subscribe, we knowe not; as for my selfe I do not (at present) at all scruple the taking of it; yet because I dare not confide too much to my owne judgement, or apprehension of things, and because matters of such serious consequence require no little caution and consideration, therefore I shall desire you (as soone as with convenience you can) to returne mee your opinion of it in two or three lines.

'Mr. Rich. Holbrooke desired mee to present his respects to you and your wife, to whom alsoe I desire you to present my best respects, as alsoe to your son, Joh. Hopkinson, and his wife. Noe more, but your prayers for him who remaines,

Yours, whilst

Clare-Hall, Dec. 6, 1649. JOH. TILLOTSON.'

ing at my house between our brethren of the Congregational persuasion and us. Several of Mr. Root's church came and expressed their desire to join with us in all ordinances.* We declared plainly the state of both societies, our present conduct, and the principles on which we acted; and, though our principles of church government were different, we concurred in our proceedings in the main, and both parties were to overlook matters of difference. On further debate and enumeration of our members, they fully acquiesced in my fidelity as to the admission of our church members, and were willing to communicate with them as they stood, without demanding any other satisfaction concerning them; we also owned them, and were willing to receive them to all ordinances. A special season was then appointed for communicating together at the Lord's supper, and both parties went away abundantly satisfied. This is the special work of God, for men's spirits are greatly altered. Captain Hodgson earnestly promoted this union. Blessed be God. Zeph. iii. 9. Jer. l. 5. Phil. iii. 15."†

* Mr Henry Root, Sen. of Magd. Col. Camb. travelled much into foreign parts in his early life. Afterwards he became a preacher at Halifax church, and collected a congregational society at Sowerby chapel, in 1645. He continued preaching at this place half a year after Bartholomew's day, but was afterwards treated with great severity. He died Oct. 1669, aged about 80.

† The names of the persons that united with the church at Northowram on this occasion are the following, concerning whom Mr. H. has in some instances made observations respecting their characters:—

1. Mr. Joshua Horton, a useful man. He died April 7th, 1679, aged 60.—2. Mrs. Martha Horton, wife of the above. She died at her son's house at Chaderton, and was buried at Sowerby, July 27, 1694.—3. Mr. John Greenwood.—4. Mrs. Greenwood, wife of the above. She died at Sowerby, and was buried Nov. 29, 1677.—5. Mr. Richard Blackett. He was a pious man and a

The first time this truly catholic church manifested their mutual affection for the Redeemer in celebrating the christian passover, was July 14th, 1672, when about sixty communicants of this infant church were present. "The day before," says Mr. H. "God helped me exceedingly to plead with him for conversion work, and for the souls of adversaries. O what a melting season it was to me! On the Lord's day we had that sweet and solemn ordinance of the Lord's supper, after the rest of the people were gone; and though I cannot but say God helped me in preaching and prayer all day, yet I did not find so much of the divine presence in that sealing ordinance as I have sometimes done: what the reason was I know not, but desire to inquire. Perhaps the Lord saw that I trusted too much to my preparation; or, that I entertained proud, vain, and self-conceited thoughts of the numerous increase of our society, and the union of another church; or, perhaps the people had too high expectations from me, which God was determined to disappoint: fain would I know the cause, that I may be humbled. It is true, God helped me with suitable and abundant expressions; but I was conscious of vain distracting thoughts. The

solid Christian, and often joined with us. He died near Halifax, and was buried in Holdsworth's Works, Nov. 8, 1677, aged 73.—6. Mrs. Root, widow of Mr. Root.—7. Josiah Stansfield.—8. Martha Stansfield, his wife.—9. Mr. John Hodgson.—10. Mrs. Sarah Hodgson.—11. John Learoyd. He was formerly a member with us, but upon discontent went to Mr. Root, but returned again and continued with us till his death, March 28, 1676. He left good evidences of his safe condition.—12. William Hurd. He also had been with us, but now returned, and again left us in 1682.—13. John Smith was an aged Christian, one of Mr. Collier's converts. I discoursed with him on his death-bed, and hope he was a good man. He went to his rest 1673.—14. Mary Smith, wife of the above. She also is gone to her long home.—15. Mrs. Ellen Drake, a widow living at the Swan Inn, Halifax.

Charles R

CHARLES by the Grace of God, King of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c. To all Mayors, Bayliffs, Constables, and other Our Officers and Ministers, Civil and Military, whom it may concern, Greeting. In pursuance of Our Declaration of the 15th of March, 167½. We do hereby permit and license Oliver Heywood of ye Presbyterian Perswasion to be a Teacher of the Congregation allowed by Us in a Roome or Roomes in the house of John Butterworth in ye Fish of Halifax in ye County of Yorke for the Use of Such as do not conform to the Church of England, who are of the Perswasion commonly called Presbyterian — With further license and permission to him the Said Oliver Heywood — — — — — to teach in any other place licensed and allowed by Us, according to Our Said Declaration. Given at Our Court at Whitehall, the 25th — day of July — in the 24th year of Our Reign, 1672.

By His Majesties Command.

Arlington

Lord's will be done; only as it is sin in me, so it is matter of humiliation."

The labours of Mr. H. at this time were very abundant, his ministry was numerously attended, and was crowned with much success. On one Lord's day this summer, he mentions: "There was a multitude of people in the forenoon, and God graciously affected my heart in prayer. In the afternoon the numbers were so increased that many were obliged to stand out of doors; and though there came a heavy shower, and the people were very wet, yet they continued at the window. The rooms were excessively crowded, so that the people trod one upon another. We want room exceedingly." Besides his stated ministrations to the congregation that assembled at his own house, he embraced every opportunity of preaching elsewhere, both in the neighbourhood of Coley, and in distant places, for which he obtained various licenses. The following is a literal copy of the license he procured for preaching at John Butterworth's in Warley:*

(Seal.) CHARLES R

CHARLES by the Grace of God, King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c. To all Mayors, Bayliffs, Constables, and other Our Officers and Ministers, Civil and Military, whom it may concern, Greeting. In pursuance of Our Declaration of the 15th of March, 167½. We do hereby permit and license Olever Heywood of y^e^ Presbyterien Perswation to be a Teacher of the Congregation allowed by Us in a Roome or Roomes in the house of John Butterworth in y^e^ parish of Hallifax in y^e^ County of Yorke for the Use of such as do not conform to the

* A Fac-simile of the Original will be found prefixed to the second volume.

Church of England, who are of the Perswasion commonly called Presbyterien—With further license and permission to him the said Oliver Heywood to teach in any other place licensed and allowed by Us, according to Our said Declaration. Given at Our Court at Whitehall, the 25th day of July—in the 24th year of Our Reign, 1672.

By His Majesties Command.

ARLINGTON

Faint as the hope was, that the liberty enjoyed by the Nonconformists at this time would be of long continuance, there were several young men in various places, whose hearts were so much set on the work of the ministry, that they embraced the earliest opportunity of entering the Lord's vineyard by the solemn rite of ordination. Such conduct under present circumstances was a pleasing evidence of their faith and zeal, and a sacred pledge to the ejected fathers, that the cause of the Redeemer would be maintained in the world, when they had entered the joy of their Lord. At the close of this summer we find Mr. H. attending one of these pleasing solemnities. "Oct. 28th, Mr. Dawson and I went into Lancashire. The day after according to appointment we kept a private fast on an extraordinary occasion, in my cousin Eaton's study in Deansgate, Manchester.* It was for ordaining and setting apart to the work of the ministry, Mr. Jos. Daw-

* Mr. Eaton was ejected from Walton in Lancashire in 1660. Afterwards he became chaplain to Lord Delamere, and when the liberties of the Dissenters were established by law, he preached at Stand near Manchester. He died in Aug. 1710, aged 54. Mr. Matt. Henry mentions his death, and observes, that in him the church of God lost a person of great learning and integrity; that he was very much superior to most of his brethren; but that he was a most humble, condescending, and affectionate friend.

son, Mr. Sam. Angier, and Mr. John Jollie. Cousin Eaton began with prayer, and Mr. Finch followed.* Then I went to prayer, wherein my heart was exceedingly affected, confessing ministerial sins, and begging mercy for the persons to be ordained, ourselves, and children devoted to God. My father Angier required Mr. Dawson to make a confession of his faith, and asked him the usual questions; after which he prayed over him with imposition of hands. Mr. Newcome did the same to my cousin Angier;† and Mr. Eaton to Mr. Jollie. Then Mr. Newcome spoke from 1 Tim. iv. 12, and gave them a solemn charge; he afterwards prayed and pronounced the blessing. It was a sweet and solemn day; a hopeful budding of Aaron's rod after a sharp winter. Blessed be the Lord."

The zeal of the pious Nonconformists in this respite from suffering, could not fail to excite the rage and enmity of their opponents, who gnashed with their teeth, and sought every possible opportunity to trouble and vex those, they could not now openly persecute. Dr. Hook, vicar of Halifax, had frequently manifested a violent spirit of hostility against Mr. Heywood, and his disposition did not alter with time or change of circumstances. "He desired," says Mr. H. "to have a sight of my licenses, and I sent them by J. Priestley. He made excuses and endeavoured to pick a quarrel;

* Mr. Finch on his ejectment retired to Warrington, and afterwards to Manchester, which not being a corporation was a common resort for many ejected ministers. In 1672 he preached at Birch chapel, and continued his labours in that neighbourhood till his sickness which terminated in death, Nov. 13th, 1704, in the 72nd year of his age.

† Mr. Newcome was ejected from the Collegiate church at Manchester by the Bartholomew act. He was a man of the most eminent character and abilities. Mr. Henry calls him, the prince of preachers. See his life and sermons in Select Nonconformists' Remains.

but seeing that would do no good, he said, tell Mr. Heywood, I want my dues for nine or ten years. He said also, I had nothing to do with preaching; but if I would preach I might go abroad where there was work, for there was no need here. He charged us with setting up altar against altar, making separations, and rendering their preaching contemptible. He told many egregious falsehoods concerning us, saying, we would not hear him, or if we did, it was to catch his words; he said also that in my meeting place some walked, others talked, and some slept, &c. May the Lord rebuke this accuser of the brethren." Many instances are noticed of the vicar's persecuting spirit, among which is the following:—"Mr. Horton* having erected a meeting-place at Sowerby, and having procured a license, desired me to begin a weekly lecture on Tuesday, May 6th, 1673, which accordingly I did. He purposed obtaining the help of some other neighbouring ministers. I preached on Psal. lxxxvi. 17, 'Show me a token for good.' The Lord affected many hearts, which I considered as a token for good; but Satan is always busy when any good work is carrying on. Dr. Hook was so much offended, that on the Saturday following he sent Mr. Horton the following letter:—

Sir, I hoped to have met you with your minister on Wednesday at our church, and afterwards with your brethren the Feoffees of Mr. Nathaniel Waterhouse at the Lecturer's; but I suppose you were so full with your four hours' exercise at the dedication of your new built cottage (as you formerly called it,) now turned into a synagogue, that you could not digest the prayers

* Mr. Horton was formerly one of Mr. Root's church at Sowerby, but had lately joined the church at Northowram. Mr. Heywood in the Northowram Register speaks of him "as a pious man, a justice of the peace, who had £1000 a year."

of our church, and a sermon there the next day. Had I seen you then, or foreseen your designed meeting, I should have been so bold, (as my pastoral duty binds me,) to have asked your authority. To that end I intended to wait on you at your inn to-day, but your being gone home, I have sent after you this messenger on the same errand. If you have authority I desire you to show it, and that before the next meeting, which I hear is to be on Tuesday next; and then I have done: but if you have not, I require you to desist. Your act, however you judge it, is a sin, a scandal, a schism, a danger, and so you will find, perhaps sooner than you expect. If you should please in thankfulness to God, who hath increased your estate, to express your pious charity, you may do it more piously in making an addition to the chapel at Sowerby. I give you this timely intimation and caution in *christian charity*, and expect your present answer.'

"This honest gentleman, being a member of our society, and the Lord's supper being administered the day after, at night, when all was done, he read this letter, and begged our advice. We thought it was best to show his license to Justice Farrer, and send an answer which he had written; it was indeed a very sober reply to so angry a letter. How it will take, God knows, but certainly there is little reason to find fault with his slighting public ordinances, for he attends daily at Sowerby, except when he comes to us about once a month; and he is not behind in his contribution, for he gives Mr. Booker, the minister there, £8. a-year, besides ten shillings a sermon to the ministers who preach the lecture at his meeting-place. Blessed be God that hath raised up any to consult and promote the welfare of souls in this evil time. May the good hand of our God be upon us for good, that

the work may not cease. We wait on God for the result of this affair."

"Nov. 10th, 1673. There came an apparitor from York, and another from Halifax, and apprehended two of our members upon a writ *de excommunicato capiendo.* The occasion whereof was their refusing to take the church-warden's oath, though they faithfully served the office. When they were excommunicated (as it is called) they consulted with us what to do. Fearing this capias, we desired them to send to York and get it off, if a little money would do it; but our godly vicar had put in a bar in the way, so that they are now taken to York castle; God Almighty go with them. We had a solemn day of prayer at W. Clay's the day on which they were taken, and so sent them away with prayer." Dr. Hook's opposition against Mr. Heywood and his friends did not excite a spirit of revenge, but called forth the most difficult christian grace into exercise—that of forgiving injuries. Mr. Heywood has left the following note in his diary: "God helped me to wrestle in prayer with some faith and tears, particularly for Dr. Hook, that God would humble his heart, pardon his sin, and make use of him for the good of sinners."

The disposition manifested by the vicar of Halifax was not peculiar to him, there were many in the country who embraced every opportunity of perplexing the Nonconformists, and disturbing their religious assemblies. Mr. H. records the following instance:— "Jan. 2nd, 1673, I joined with Mr. Richardson* in

* Mr. Richardson was ejected from Kirk-Heaton, after which he retired to his own house at Lassel-hall. Here, besides preaching on the Lord's days, he kept up a monthly lecture, in which he was assisted by several of his neighbouring brethren. Afterwards he went to Liverpool, and preached alternately at that place and Toxteth-park. His preaching was accurate, plain, and popular,

an exercise at Lassell-hall. Abundance of people came, and when Mr. R. was preaching, Sir John Kay's servant pressed through the crowd, and inquired if he had a license to preach there. Mr. R. answered him smartly and went on, and the man withdrew. I confess I was somewhat affrighted at the thought of his coming when I should be preaching. When Mr. R. had finished I succeeded, and while I was preaching the man came again and demanded if we had licenses. Mr. R. sharply said, What authority have you to inquire? He replied, His master Sir J. Kay had sent him. He then commanded us both in the king's name to go with him; and, having produced his warrant, I gave him mild words, and promised to go when we had done our work. He stood by, and I went on with my sermon, God graciously helping me. When we had finished we went with him and two of Sir John's liverymen. When we entered the hall, we found many waiting men, and some playing at cards at the table. At last Sir John came, and asked us if we had any licenses, saying, His majesty hath graciously encouraged conformists, and indulged his other subjects that pretend conscience in not conforming; but his princely clemency had been abused in many places; therefore he hath sent us express orders to inquire after persons' licenses. We told him we had a license for the place with us, but licenses for our persons were at home. He demanded a sight of what we had, and so far he was satisfied; but required a sight of the others also. We requested time, and he gave us till Saturday. Thus God's gracious providence hath wrought for us, so that we can look with confidence upon authority, having

and his knowledge of the scriptures so great, that he was able to analyze and expound a chapter, on a sudden call in the families he visited. He died in Dec. 1698, aged about 80.

authority for what we do; blessed be God. I cannot but observe how hostile the devil is against preaching, when he promotes feasting, drinking, and revelling."

When Mr. Heywood's two sons were about seventeen years of age, and had received that instruction which the best schools in the neighbourhood afforded, their father resolved on sending them to Mr. Frankland in Westmoreland, who may be considered as the first tutor of the earliest dissenting academy. The anxious concern Mr. H. experienced on this occasion, will appear from the solemn manner in which he now afresh devoted them to the service of God. "My sons being to go abroad for learning next week, I took them with me," he says, "to three private fasts this week; and Thursday, May 15th, 1673, was such a day as we have seldom had. I purposely appointed to seek God this day on their behalf, and he wonderfully helped all his servants to plead for them. About the middle of the day I called them both forth, before the company, and asked them several questions, as to what calling they chose? With tears they both answered, the ministry. I asked them, for what end? and told them they might suffer persecution, and must not dream of honour therein, or of living like gentlemen. They replied, their only end was to glorify God and win souls. I marked John's words, he said, he desired to do God more service than any of his ancestors. I asked them, what they desired Mr. Dawson and the rest of God's servants should pray for, on their behalf? Eliezer spoke first, and said, that God would give them grace and gifts, forgive their sins of childhood, and loss of time, make them studious, and keep them from temptation and sinful company. John's answer was much of the same nature. They both wept exceedingly, and so did the whole company. Then I solemnly gave them up to

God in his work. Those that went to prayer read also a portion of scripture. W. B. read 1 Sam. i. on dedicating Samuel to God. Mr. Dawson read Gen. xxviii. respecting Isaac sending away his son Jacob. R. R. read Prov. iii, on getting and prizing wisdom. Mr. Hodgson Gen. xlviii. from 8th verse to the end. When he came to those words, 'The angel which redeemed me from all evil, bless the lads,' the tears stopped him and he made a solemn pause; and we all wept. I read and briefly expounded 1 Chron. xxviii. containing David's charge to Solomon about building the temple. God helped us all in prayer. O what a flood of tears! What pleadings with God! I can scarcely remember the like. Blessed be God; it is a token for good. I wait to hear what God will speak to all these things; surely he will speak peace. O that I and mine may not return to folly. Ebenezer!"

A minister whose labours are confined generally or almost constantly within the sphere occupied by the members of a single congregation, may often remain long a stranger to the success of his efforts to promote the spiritual and eternal welfare of men. Some instances of the happy result of his faithful services may at times come to his knowledge, which encourage him to persevere in the unwearied discharge of his ministerial duties; while he waits for that period emphatically styled the day of the Lord Jesus, which will reveal the extent of his usefulness. But what may we suppose would be the highly important consequences of Mr. Heywood's zealous and incessant exertions, which were not limited to a narrow sphere? consequences which must have been very imperfectly known to him in this world, where we see but through a glass darkly? As far as twenty miles from his residence in every direction (and the circle might be widened in

perfect accordance with truth,) he like his divine Master went about indefatigably doing good. In some cases he might ascertain the fruit of his labour, but *that* we have reason to conclude would be far short of the real amount. About the time when Mr. Heywood finished his itinerant services, or not long after, places of worship were erected by the Nonconformists, not only at Leeds, Bradford, Halifax, and Wakefield, principal towns in the West Riding of Yorkshire, but also dissenting chapels were built in the adjacent villages, at Warley, Sowerby, Eastwood, Mixenden, Kipping, Bingley, Idle, Pudsey, Cleckheaton, Heckmondwike, Topcliff, and Hopton, besides the chapel at Northowram, and another at Morley venerable for its antiquity, which at that period fell into the hands of dissenters. Within the district in which those towns and villages are situated, Mr. H. for many years as often as he had opportunity, and when trying circumstances permitted him, distributed to thousands the bread of life, moved with compassion for them in their deplorable circumstances, when suffering not from a famine preying upon the body, but a famine which threatened the life of the soul: and there can be no doubt of his labours having contributed greatly to the formation of dissenting societies, at the places just now enumerated. These observations have been suggested by the following extract:—

"June 23, 1673. Some friends were with me from about Woodkirk, when J. Hoppindale told me (as he expressed himself) for my encouragement, that most of the persons who had been admitted into Mr. Marshall's* church of late years, when delivering their

* Mr. Christopher Marshall was a congregationalist; a good scholar, of considerable abilities, and of a serious spirit, but inclined to melancholy, on account of many personal and domestic

experience, have signified that the first work of grace in their souls was through my ministry in these sad and silencing times. Indeed I am willing to believe, that God drew me forward to preach abroad at Hunslet, Bramley, Farsley, Pudsey, Morley, and Idle, in public, when multitudes of people flocked together to hear, and were affected; at a time when none did or durst venture on the important work of preaching the gospel; also in private houses in various places. My heart was wonderfully impressed and enlarged in those times, and I now hear of some fruit; I hope there is more not yet discovered. Blessed, blessed be my God!"

Mr. Heywood, during this period of liberty, was actively employed in public labours; but the following occasional covenants prove that, while he paid attention to the cause of Zion in general, he did not neglect the progress of vital religion in his own soul. "Having the opportunity of secresy, and having to dispense and partake of the Lord's supper to-morrow, I have this afternoon, Feb. 1, 1673, been setting myself to examine my conscience, renew my faith and repentance, and pour out my soul before God. Having experienced some degree of enlargement, I am pressed in spirit to lift up my hand to the Most High, and bind myself to the Lord in a further vow of self-dedication to him."

"Infinite Jehovah! It is no small encouragement to this poor, sinful creature, that I live under a covenant

afflictions. Being ejected from Woodkirk, in 1662, he lived privately near his people in a house of his own. Upon the passing of the Five-mile Act, he went to live at Horbury, but returned and preached privately. In 1672, he preached at Topcliff-hall. He was accused and imprisoned on account of a plot, with several of his brethren; but they came off clear, nothing being proved against them.—*Nonconformists' Memorial, vol. 3, page* 455.

of grace, and not of works, wherein, though I sin, as thou knowest, to the grief of my heart, repentance is not unavailable, nor the sentence irreversible; but an appeal is admitted from the bench of justice to the throne of grace, from the law to the gospel, from Moses to Christ; God himself, even thou, my Father, having provided a plank after shipwreck, and a city of refuge to secure my poor, trembling soul: according to this blessed covenant, I return to thee this day after my backslidings. It grieves me that I have grieved thy Spirit by deadness, distraction, pride, unbelief, worldliness, hypocrisy, and formality. I here prostrate myself at thy footstool, acknowledging thy justice, if thou condemn me, adoring thy free grace, if thou receive me; and who knows but God will accept. O that ever it should enter thy heart to send thy Son to redeem sinners! O that overflowing love should provide a surety to pay the debt of bankrupts! I accept it, Lord, with a hearty welcome; I acquiesce in this thy way, and will seek for no other to secure my precious soul. My soul embraceth a dear Saviour in the arms of my faith. Welcome Christ with his yoke! Welcome the cross of Christ! O that my soul may come to Christ aright! I am willing to part with the world, sensual gratifications, and all for Christ, and to give up myself to Christ. I have no other Saviour, no other Sovereign; the Lord my Righteousness is the Lord my Judge; the Lord my King will save me. Dear Lord Jesus! thou art my hope, my help, my light, and life; thy name is as ointment poured forth, therefore my soul loveth thee, my heart goeth after thee; I have none in heaven or earth besides thee; thou art the Sun of righteousness, thy grace alone heals me, thy beams enlighten me, thy rays refresh me; if thou withdrawest, my spirit

faints. Whom should I admire but thee? To whom should I give up myself but unto thee? Here I am, Lord, devoted to thy fear, thy servant, the son of thine handmaid, thou hast loosed my bonds. My person, and all I have are thine; yea, I look upon it as my greatest privilege to be the Lord's devoted servant. Lord, if thou hast given this worthless worm any gifts, I will not use them to get myself credit, but thee glory. No matter what men think or speak of me, so that they have exalted thoughts of God. Let me disappear, that the eyes of men may be fixed on the Lord. My house, and goods, and all I have, are at thy service; I proclaim liberty to thee to do with all I have what seemeth good to thee. If I may glorify thee better without than with these things, I am as willing to be deprived of them as ever I was to receive them. My wife, children, and all my comforts, are more thine than mine. I am but a steward, these are borrowed, and when my Master calls, I will freely let all go for thy sake and pleasure. I despise all things in comparison of, or competition with, my dear Lord Jesus. What is this world to the pearl of great price, the Mediator of the new covenant? My soul even scorns and hates these poor inconsiderable things, that I may win Christ and be found in him. 'I have sworn, and I will perform it, that I will keep thy righteous judgments.' I have renewed my covenant, taken the bounty money, given my hand, and, through grace, my soul desires to stand to it, to be the Lord's, and only his. I am more the Lord's than my own. O that I could be more for God than for myself! I must, and, through grace, will take more pains in my study, be more at the throne of grace, and preach with

more compassion for poor souls. Lord, say, Amen; and give success to

"Thy worthless servant,

"OLIVER HEYWOOD."

Begun, Feb. 1st,
Ended, Feb. 3rd, } 1673.

The following covenant engagement was entered into, Dec. 8th, 1673, at a time, when Mr. Heywood suspected the increase and prevalence of Popery in this country, and while it expresses his firm persuasion of the truth of the gospel, shows his willingness to endure any degree of persecution to which the profession of his faith might expose him.

"My glorious and gracious Sovereign! My parents presented me to thee in baptism in infancy, wherein I was enlisted as thy soldier, to fight under the banner of the Captain of my salvation, against Satan, the world, and the flesh. When I came to years of discretion, and was under convictions, which were, I hope, by thy Holy Spirit, I again personally renewed that covenant by a solemn self-resignation to the Lord, giving my hand, and therein I hope my heart, to that good God who gave his Son for me, and hath given himself, his Son, and Spirit to me; and I never had cause to repent of this engagement. The more I have tasted the Lord's goodness, the more have I been confirmed in my choice; and the more sincerely I have waited on God, the more hath my soul tasted his love. And now, being under sad apprehensions of approaching persecutions from popish adversaries, not knowing what things will befall me betwixt this and the grave, I here, once again, enlist myself as a volunteer under thy sacred colours, to war a good warfare. I do purpose, by thy grace, to adhere to the true reformed

Protestant religion, to contend earnestly for the faith once delivered to the saints, yea, to resist unto blood, striving against sin. My full purpose of heart is, to cleave to the Lord, whatever it may cost me. Behold, I am ready, by the assistance of thy grace, to lose father and mother, wife and children, brethren and sisters, houses and lands, all my outward comforts, credit, liberty, and whatever is dear to me, for thy sake and the gospel's. Thou, who art the searcher of hearts, knowest that I count not my life dear to me, so that I may finish my course with joy, and the ministry I have received of the Lord Jesus, to testify the gospel of the grace of God. By the strength of God, I will keep on in my work and way, in the duties of prayer, preaching, and all christian exercises, and neglect no opportunity to serve my God, and save souls; and though I would do God's work prudently, yet God forbid, that a pretence of prudence should prevent faithfulness. Though I be not worthy of the high and transcendent honour of being a martyr for my dear Saviour, yet my present prayer and purpose are, that I may not deny his name; but, if he call me to it, may witness a good confession, by continuing in the things which I have learned and been assured of, knowing of whom I have learned them. I design, by thy grace, to hold fast and hold forth in my place the word of God's patience, let the Lord do with me what seemeth good in his eyes. Come life, come death, I am the Lord's. Welcome Christ with a cross! Welcome a fiery chariot to mount into my Father's palace! Welcome reproach for the sake of Christ! Let him be magnified in my body, whether it be by life or death. If I be offered as a sacrifice to serve the faith of the church, I shall rejoice let what will

come, so that I may enjoy my Lord Christ. As, through grace, I have thankfully suffered a short imprisonment for God, and, as I can say it sincerely, I have suffered joyfully the spoiling of my goods; so I hope, I can comfortably believe, my God will help me not to love my life unto death, for this gospel I have professed and preached. But, O my God, I am sensible of the frailty of my flesh, the treachery of my heart, and the temptations of Satan, and I am assured, if thou shouldst leave me, I shall certainly fall as Peter did; therefore I flee to thy all-sufficient grace; thou alone art able to make me stand. Support and strengthen this weak and worthless worm. It is not any measure of gifts, learning, resolution, or received grace that can support me, it is nothing but thy assisting and corroborating grace. Though I cannot dispute for the truth, yet thou canst make me both dispute and die for Christ. Though of myself I can do nothing, yet by the strength of Christ, I shall be able both to do and endure all things. Lord, support me with wisdom, courage, zeal, fidelity, and all heroic christian graces, to pass through dangers and difficulties, and, if called to such a trial, to seal thy truth with my heart's blood. So voweth and prayeth,

"Thy resolved servant,

"OLIVER HEYWOOD."

PART VI.

Licenses threatened to be taken away—Parliament prorogued—Licenses revoked—Mr. Heywood's conduct on the occasion—His Perseverance in Labours—Grateful Recollections—Parental anxiety—Death of Relatives, Mr. Rich. Heywood, Rev. John Angier, Rev. Nath. Heywood—Self-examination—Mr. Heywood apprehended at Shaw chapel—Thanksgiving day—Extracts from his Diary—Sickness of Mrs. and Eliezer Heywood—Covenant renewed—Another Excommunication—Ordination of Timothy Jollie—Mr. H's. successful Labours—Repeated illness of Eliezer Heywood—The death of an ungodly Preacher—Review of 1681—*Severities exercised—Spiritual Journeys—Visit to London—Deliverances from Dangers—Disinterested Labours—Mr. Heywood's Apprehension and Trial—His Perplexity—Imprisonment in York Castle—Prison Employment—His Liberation—Renewal of his Labours.*

The liberty enjoyed in consequence of the licenses, was considered by many of the Nonconformists as very precarious, and so it proved. The parliament was displeased with the king for granting them, because it was an unlawful stretch of the royal prerogative. In February 1673, the House of Commons voted the king's declaration illegal, and he promised it should not be brought into a precedent. "In this tickle juncture," says Mr. H. "God furnished his servants with a subject for prayer. The king to gratify the parliament, tore off the seal from the licenses, upon which our adversaries began to threaten us and execute penalties. Some ministers about Manchester gave over their public work, and most were at a loss what to do. The king called the judges to consult with them on

the case. They put him in mind of his promise to the parliament not to draw the practice into a precedent, yet told him all offices depended on him, and that he might show his displeasure at the severity of the justices by taking away their commissions. Accordingly when one Mr. Hicks,* a Nonconformist minister, was disturbed and fined, he rode up to the king, who not only granted an order for the recovery of his goods, but also for taking away the commissions of the justices who were active in the business. Upon this information the ministers went to their work again; blessed be God." Every sincere friend to the British Constitution must detest the servile spirit of these judges, and the arbitrary conduct of this monarch, yet we cannot wonder that the persecuted Nonconformists embraced the opportunity of exercising their natural rights, in their conscientious worship of God.

At this time, as Mr. H. justly observes: "All things were on the wheel of change, especially concerning the affairs of the nation. The parliament," he says, "hath been sitting at the stern above twelve years; but behold a strange and incredible alteration amongst them. Their late votes speak astonishing change in the members. They that were all for the king's prerogative have gone to the other extreme, have called some great men in question, have appeared violent against the Papists, and passed many votes for the poor Nonconformists. But while they were proceeding with most energy in making those unexpected changes in which they designed something for the good of the

* Mr. Hicks was a native of Yorkshire and educated at Trin. Col. Dublin. He was ejected from Saltash in Cornwall, and afterwards settled at Portsmouth, preaching as opportunity permitted. Unhappily he was induced to unite with the followers of the Duke of Monmouth, and thereby was brought to suffer on the scaffold. *See the Nonconformist's Mem. vol. i. page* 368—370.

nation, all on a sudden they have been prorogued from Feb. 24th to Nov. 10th, 1674, and afterwards to April 13th, 1675, so that there is an end to their proceedings. And what! are you also become weak as we? You stopped our mouths from preaching, and now yours are stopped from voting! You turned us out of our houses and out of God's house; and now you are turned out of the parliament house! You caused us to be put in fear, and punished us for doing God's work; and now you are put in fear by potent adversaries, and made incapable of acting for the good of the nation! How comes this to pass? Do not you see the righteous hand of God in these wonderful revolutions? O that these things may pierce your hearts, awaken your consciences, and excite a spirit of repentance! But how comes it to pass that your minds are thus changed? What caused you to mince the matter or alter any thing in the act of uniformity? Time was when you would not vote an ace of perfect conformity away; now you can dispense with the cross in baptism, subscription, declaration, and renouncing of the covenant. &c.! Are these things less necessary now than formerly? Doth your zeal for the prelatical church slacken? Are you afraid of the common enemy, the Papists? Or is it an act of policy to unite all parties, and secure yourselves? Or are you at last convinced of the great increase and danger of overspreading popery? Or do you discern the loyalty, peaceableness, and usefulness of the Nonconformist ministry and people? Who hath opened your eyes? Surely our God to whom we have prayed. We know whence this comes; but we are not ready for the mercy, nor is the nation in a fit posture for reformation. Lord, what wilt thou do with us? What will be the issue of these things? Thou knowest the contrivances of men, and the whole nation are at a stand, expecting

the result of these surprising changes. God Almighty, put to thy helping hand, take thy place and appear at the helm; awake, why sleepest thou, O Lord? Convince the great ones of the earth that they stand in slippery places, and lead them to the rock of ages. Let them see their true interest is bound up in thine, and that what runs counter to thee cannot stand. The greatest favourites may be soon driven from the presence and services of mortal, changeable princes, or fall under the censures of the ambitious, the designs of their rivals, or the rage of the unruly mob. O my soul, there are better honours than what hang on the lips, or conceits of men; there is an honour that comes from God only. Great men often change their places, but seldom move nearer to God. The only way to rise is to fall; and casting ourselves low at God's feet, is the christian way of being received to the bosom of God. Let men attend the pleasure of princes; but, my soul, wait thou on God only. Let men advance in the world; do thou make progress in grace. While men, like ants, are busily compassing the molehill of the world, striving which shall be the highest, let it be the height of thy ambition to press into the kingdom of heaven. While many at this day are aiming to make proselytes to increase their party, do thou enlarge thy desires and quicken thy endeavours to gain souls to Christ, that at last thou mayest give up thy account with everlasting satisfaction. In the mean time, pity the great ones of the earth, who have nothing to comfort their hearts with when the favour of princes fails, remembering what a great man once said; 'If I had been as careful to serve the great God of heaven as my great master on earth, he would not have forsaken me in my old age.'"

About the close of the year 1674, the king called

the bishops together, to consider what should be done to serve the cause of religion, and, after various consultations also with the ministers of state, he was advised to recall his licenses, and put the laws against the Nonconformists in execution. This was soon after done by proclamation, and it was not long before Mr. Heywood felt its effects. Feb. 9th, 1675, having been invited to preach at the new meeting-place in Leeds, in giving a relation of his journey he thus writes: "I set off from home, had studied, as I imagined, a good sermon, and pleased myself in supposing what an auditory I should get the day after, what satisfaction I should give to good people, and how seasonable the text and subject were. As I rode along, I checked myself in these proud conceits, and told the Lord how just he would be in withdrawing himself, and endeavoured to content myself if he should prevent my preaching, or send wicked men to disturb me. When I had come as far as Morley, I met a friend on the road, who showed me the king's order for recalling licenses and suppressing meetings. When I came to Leeds we had a meeting at Mr. S—'s house to consult about my preaching. They judged it expedient to forbear, partly because it was an order, and therefore in force as soon as published, and partly because the aldermen were exasperated by the Nonconformists' conflict with them, and victory over them; but particularly because they had told the mayor and aldermen, that if the king called in his licenses they would forbear; so I did not preach publicly, but delivered my sermon to them privately at Mr. S—'s house that night. There were great lamentations, for now we are left to the rigour of the law, which is sad and severe enough. This is the day our adversaries have expected, our friends have feared, and we have deserved. We have

known what it is to wander from parish to parish, seeking the word of the Lord, and God hath also laid upon us great scarcity of natural food, so that cleanness of teeth and leanness of soul seem to go hand in hand as uncomfortable companions. Woe unto us, for we have sinned! What multitudes flock to our doors begging alms, and what multitudes of precious souls are in danger of perishing for want of spiritual provision! Lord Jesus, have compassion on this miserable multitude that have nothing to eat! When will the Lord return? When will these days of affliction and persecution have an end? How long, O Lord, wilt thou forsake us for ever? But is there not sufficient cause? May not God say, as to Joshua when pleading for Israel? 'Wherefore liest thou thus upon thy face? Israel have sinned, and they have also transgressed my covenant.' Indeed this is the true cause of this heavy blow. Oh for a spirit of reformation and repentance! If our hearts were effectually turned, how soon would God turn our captivity as the streams in the south. Alas, how wofully do we complain of our sufferings, and how little are we afflicted with our sins! O that we could learn not to put trust in princes, nor in the son of man in whom there is no help!"

Mr. Heywood had now the painful task of taking leave of his people, not knowing that they should have the opportunity of again assembling for religious worship in a public manner. "The most heart-melting day and exercise," he says, "that ever I remember was Lord's day, Feb. 14th. The week before we received the king's order for calling in licenses, and it was judged fit we should cease preaching publicly. I therefore took my solemn farewell that day, preaching on Rev. ii. 4, 5. At the close I gave my reasons, and some advice. The occasion excited the tenderest feel-

ings, and floods of tears, such as I never witnessed in all my life in public. I promised my best assistance to them all in private. O that God would set the stamp of his grace and Spirit on these warm sensations! Who knows what good may be done by this closing sermon? However, these feelings are a token for good and a presage of the Lord's gracious return. My reasons for giving over public preaching are:—1. Because I would comply as far as I may, with the mind and pleasure of our rulers, that they may be convinced we are peaceable, and to remove the imputation of sedition, of which God knows we are not guilty. 2. Because the parliament will shortly meet, who in the last session were taking our case into consideration; and it is hoped if we behave ourselves peaceably they may restore our liberty by law. 3. The licenses not being according to the established laws of the land, but by the king's prerogative, it is feared by some they may prove of dangerous consequence; for if he may dispense with laws on one account, he may also supersede them on some other. 4. Several of my brethren elsewhere have given over this public way of preaching, especially at Leeds, where the people had acted nobly, and had laid out £400. in building a meeting-place, besides Mr. Ness's beyond the bridge. 5. Some of the brethren who have been backward at preaching would censure and condemn me as obstructing their liberty if I had continued; and I wish not to give any offence. 6. Because I would not ensnare people, but let them know on what terms we now are, that they might not lay the blame on me, if hereafter any fine be laid upon them, but that they may know the worst and count the cost. 7. Because my people, especially the most intelligent advised me to it, and judged it the most prudent course that could be taken to withdraw into more retired meetings. 8.

I do not repent, because it was an affecting day. The sad parting may do good, and as God hath met with me in more retired seasons, so I hope he will hereafter meet with me."

When the king's proclamation was issued, informers took courage, and in many places persecution prevailed; but some justices were so honest and friendly, as to declare, "they could not trade with their neighbours one day, and send them to gaol the next." The king's license was now of no benefit, but Mr. Heywood had too high a sense of his allegiance to his divine Sovereign, to forsake the cause of Christ when it exposed him to danger. Prudence dictated, especially at the first, that the assemblies to which he preached should be more private than before; but he cheerfully embraced every opportunity of dispensing to them the word of salvation. "Though there are threatenings, as to our liberty, on all hands," he observes, "and it is said, four hundred persons are summoned to appear at Pontefract Sessions, this week, for not going to church, and though I had taken my leave of public work, yet yesterday, and most Lord's days since the calling in of the licenses, I have preached in my meeting place, and had nearly as numerous assemblies as before, without molestation; blessed be my good God. Though licenses from men are void, yet our license from heaven is not out of date. O what rich privileges have we enjoyed! But Satan, envying our precious enjoyments, hath gone another way to work, by painful divisions among ourselves. The occasion was small, but the effects were distressing. A lad running away from his apprenticeship, produced anger amongst intimate acquaintances. Affairs of many years' date have been brought up with various aggravations, which have engaged many of our society

in broils. O that ever I have lived to see this day! For the divisions of Israel there have been sad thoughts of heart. I am sure, that in me they have occasioned great searchings of heart. I was never so much at a loss how to conduct myself towards all as becometh the gospel. How small a spark kindles a great fire! How little are the best of us able to brook reproaches! How apt are we to avenge ourselves! How hard is it to conquer self, or cast out the old leaven of malice! How apt to think we do well to be angry! How impetuous and suspicious is unruly passion! Prayer and reason may allay it a little; but what ungovernable returns doth it make? In our passion, how ready are we to unchristian each other, to bury all former kindnesses, and to put an awkward face on former conduct! How strangely does prejudice interpret all words and actions, though no harm was meant! Lord, what a swarm of wasps is lodged in the heart of man! Who would have expected these things from some, who once condemned themselves as the vilest part of creation! Reflection on our circumstances has made me say, with David 'Help, Lord, for the godly man ceaseth; for the faithful fail from among the children of men.' The God of heaven humble us by a spirit of repentance, and pour upon us a spirit of reconciliation."

Though Mr. H. was deeply afflicted, for some time, by this internal contest, yet he and his people were graciously preserved from the attacks of outward persecutions, though sometimes they had many alarms. On one occasion, having dismissed the congregation suddenly, through fear of danger, Mr. H. thus expresses himself, "June 18th, 1676. Lord's day, while I was at prayer, E. D. sent me a message to acquaint me, that three men were coming to apprehend me. I

knew not what to do, but dismissed the congregation and withdrew to W. Clay's, which showed my cowardice and pusillanimity. It is true, after those men were gone by, we mustered the company and proceeded again; but my spirit was much discomposed in preaching. It was intended that there should be preaching again at four o'clock, but people hung about all that time, and some thought there was danger, so I forbore preaching that evening. When the suspicious persons were gone, my heart was shut up and much hardened, and God did apparently withdraw from me, which greatly afflicted me. O what a distracted and disappointed sabbath was it! God had a hand in it; but I see my weakness, and desire repentance and assistance for the future. On Monday morning, God melted my heart for these things."

The continued kindness of God to Mr. Heywood made deep impressions on his grateful heart, and he records some pleasant meditations he had about this time, on 2 Sam. vii. 20; while travelling to preach at Alverthorp. "How sweetly," says he, "did God melt my heart with a sense of his mercies toward me! O my soul, review the remembrance of them, and see what fruit may fall from the tree at a second shaking. Let me recount a little the kindnesses I have experienced in my soul, body, estate, relations, and all that concerns me. 1. For my soul, what hath God wrought for it and in it? God the Father hath shewn me special favour; God the Son hath laid down his life to redeem me; God the Holy Spirit hath convinced, converted, comforted, and established me. The Lord hath given himself to be my portion, granted me pardon of sin, wrought saving grace in my heart, adopted me as his child, quickened and enlarged me in duties, vouchsafed to me communion with himself, assured me of future

glory, carried me graciously thus far towards heaven, and will guide me by his counsel, and afterwards receive me to glory. And what could David say more? 2. In my conjugal circumstances I have been highly favoured, and my grateful acknowledgments are due for the distinguishing kindness Providence has shown me, in allotting me one and another companion to be my solace amidst the trying scenes of my life. 3. God has given me three sons, all living, only the youngest lives with God in his immediate presence, having died in infancy under the covenant. The other two have been devoted to God from their childhood, as Samuel. They are engaged in the service of the church, having voluntarily chosen it, are comfortably circumstanced, and profitably employed. They have made good proficiency, have conducted themselves hopefully, have gifts and fitness for their work, and are very promising, being under the covenant, and having a large stock of prayers and tears laid up for them and still increasing. And what could David say more? 'Thou, Lord, knowest thy servant,' and hast given hopes that my posterity shall bear up thy name as well as mine for many generations. 4. God hath blessed me as to public ordinances. He hath cast the lines for me in pleasant places, given me a goodly heritage, and maintained my lot. O the feast of fat things we have had while others have been famishing! Our eyes see what kings and prophets desired; our ears hear the joyful sound. O the blessed days of the Son of man, the sabbaths of rest, sermons, prayers, and ordinances we have enjoyed! And what could David desire more, who wished to see God's power and glory as he had seen them in the sanctuary? 5. God hath done more; he hath made me a dispenser of the blessed gospel. He hath orderly and suitably trained me up in advantageous places

and under proper tutors. He hath honoured me with gospel ordination, given me gifts for the work, made me laborious and useful in it, and given me a numerous, obedient, and peaceable people, and many gracious souls. He hath granted me credit and honour among God's people and others, and upheld me in my public work, (notwithstanding much opposition on all hands) these twenty-five years. And what could David, the sweet singer of Israel say more? 'Thou, Lord, knowest thy servant,' that more success of my poor labours is all that I desire as my reward. 6. Yet once more, the Lord hath vouchsafed me all outward, useful accommodations; I want nothing that is necessary for me in my circumstances. God hath given me the right exercise of reason, comfortable health of body, a house of my own to live in and entertain his people. He hath given me a sufficiency to supply my wants, though much of it from hand to mouth, suitable food and raiment, a servant to attend me at home, and a horse to carry me abroad, friends to receive me, employment to occupy me, civil and spiritual liberty, a good report among men, a study to retire to, a competent number of useful books, disentanglement from worldly affairs, all needful accommodations, and a heart to make a moderate use of them. And what could David say more? except that he was a potent prince, and I am a poor preacher. Well, be it so; this state of life is fitter for me on many accounts. 'Thou, Lord, knowest thy servant,' that I would rather be a minister in the pulpit to convert souls, than a king on the throne to rule over men. Farewell earthly crowns, welcome the cross of Christ."

Many indeed were the mercies Mr. Heywood received, and great was his enjoyment, yet he was also a man of sorrows, and found that his path sometimes

lay through a vale of tears. After his sons had been for a season with Mr. Frankland, he sent them to the University of Edinburgh, where they took the degree of Master of Arts. During their continuance at this place, he was alarmed by painful reports concerning them, when afterwards, to his great joy, they proved to be false; but they naturally occasioned, for a time, much anxiety and distress in the bosom of an affectionate and pious parent. His feelings on those occasions may be partly known by the following extracts: "Jan. 26th, 1677. I went to Rawden-hall to preach, where was a full assembly. Just as I was going to begin, R. T. gave me a letter from B. of Bramhope, which informed me of a report generally circulated in the country, that my two sons were both drowned in Scotland. It troubled me at the moment; but having other work before me, God put it out of my mind, and helped me in prayer and preaching, only in the latter part of my sermon, it overpowered me, and I was ready to faint. Immediately after I had finished, I went into the parlour, and inquired what had been heard of it. J. Smith told me it had been reported three weeks together. I despatched a messenger to Mr. Whitaker, to inquire the grounds of that report; but he not being at home, I received no satisfaction. When I went to bed, God melted my heart in secret prayer, and I was much helped to say, 'The will of the Lord be done.' O how sweet was it to lie at God's feet! I thought I could sleep and be satisfied; but the imaginations of my heart kept me awake most of the night.* God helped me in the morning duty, but

* Painful as Mr. Heywood's feelings were on this occasion and at other times, under similar circumstances, yet these troubles were not without their spiritual benefit, and sixteen years afterwards, he thus expresses himself when writing his Treatise, enti-

all the way home my heart was full, and in great suspense between hopes and fears. When I came to my own gate, a boy called to me, and told me of a letter from my sons, and when I came into my house and read it, found that all was well with them. Blessed, blessed be my God, who hath dispersed my fears."

On one occasion, he says: "O how little power have I over my own thoughts! I feel the truth of that word: 'When he giveth quietness, who then can make trouble? and when he hideth his face, who then can behold him?' But now I feel the benefit of prayer. In the multitude of my sad thoughts within me, thy counsels and comforts, O Lord, delight my soul. Thou hast known my soul in adversity, and now I give up myself and mine unto thee, upon a new score and renewed obligations. How things are, or will yet be with my sons, I know not; but thou hast quieted my heart in the actings of faith and prayer, in consequence of which, I do resolve, by thy grace,

tled, "The Best Entail:" "I have found that the miscarriage of my child, which is the greatest cross I ever met with, hath been blessed for the good of my soul, as a good woman said, 'Bearing my children and my crosses has cost me dear, but I would not be without either.' It is not fit that I should choose my affliction, what God lays on me is welcome, and I will etseem Christ no worse for his cross; for I find these bitter waters the most medicinal, and the sweetest fruits grow on this bitter tree. The depravity of my child hath helped to make me better, and this heart-breaking hath proved a heart-melting. True it is, that wicked men are hardened by seeing the children of the covenant thus miscarry, (even as divisions and offences amongst God's people are occasions of ruin, yea, even gospel-preaching is to some the savour of death,) yet as God is just therein to them, so my soul hath cause to bless the physician of souls, who so tempers this poison as to make it salutary to me; for my crosses are better than their comforts. I will recommend religion, though I mourn over my irreligious child, for godliness is gain, though even I gain not grace for my child by it."—*Vol.* 4. *p.* 467.

to call upon thee as long as I live, and trust in thy covenant for my posterity. My sons are thine more than mine, thou gavest them me, and I have given them back again to thee, not only in the ordinance of baptism, and many times since by prayers and tears, but in a peculiar manner, May 15th, 1673, before many witnesses. The remembrance of that day bears up my heart with much encouragement, that God will hear and answer in giving them grace. Lord, my children are parts of myself, and in giving up myself to thee, I have also given them; and wilt thou not accept this loan? Is not thy covenant firm and free? May it not be made good to me, as well as to Abraham or David? If I had any thing better than my own soul and the souls of my wife and children to give thee, thou shouldst have it. Lord, are thy covenant mercies worn out? Hast thou but one blessing, my Father? Wilt thou begin to cut off the blessed entail at the third generation? Doth not thy promise reach to a thousand generations of them that fear thee? O Lord, deal kindly with thy servant and his seed; notwithstanding, if there be iniquity in me, scourge me thyself, for why shouldst thou leave mine to the temptations of Satan and their own hearts' lusts? Lord, shall children of so many prayers and tears miscarry? Wilt thou not take possession of thy own right and thy Son's purchase? I know that neither my house nor heart is so with thee as it ought to be; but thou hast made a covenant with me, ordered in all things and sure; this is all my salvation, and all my desire, although thou make it not to grow. I must needs say, I have broken the covenant by unbelief, impenitence, and failures, and thou mightest justly leave my sons to walk in my steps. But doth not thy covenant provide a remedy? Is there not pardon in the

blood of Christ, for poor, penitent sinners? If my heart and house are out of order, yet thy covenant is well ordered; if my soul be fickle and inconstant, yet thy covenant is sure and stedfast. Thou knowest, O Lord, all my desires are before thee, and my groaning is not hid from thee. Shouldst thou not make my house to grow in numbers, estate, or honour, thou knowest that is not my object and errand in my addresses to thee. Have I not told thee many a time, I shall be freely content, if they be no richer than I have been; or to have no greater benefices in the church than I have had, to be at a poor chapel (if God restore), or to preach in a house to poor sinners, and convert souls to God? I would rather have them serious, experienced preachers, amongst a few despised servants of God, than doctors or bishops in the highest ecclesiastical promotions. Lord, leave them not to conform to ceremonies, or turn formalists, or become persecutors of thy people. Let it appear, there is a blessing in their education in a private college, more than in the public universities. I have committed them more to thy tuition than man's; and if thou wilt grant them special, sanctifying grace, and useful gifts, and learning to fit them for public work amongst thy people, I will, by thy grace, bless thy name while I live; yea, I do solemnly purpose to devote a day in every year to the exercise of solemn thanksgiving for that mercy particularly, and to spend some time monthly apart by myself to praise thy name. Lord, I hope my heart is sincere in this solemn vow. Give me both a heart and an occasion to pay these vows I now make in the perplexity of my soul. Amen, amen.

"OLIVERUS HEYWOOD,
"Servus Domini."

Jan. 20. 1677.

"The Lord having in some degree granted the mercy, by sending my sons home in safety out of Scotland, and they being studious and hopeful in reference to religion, I did, according to my preceding vow, appoint May 9th, 1677, as a day of solemn thanksgiving to God, for his mercy displayed in all their journeys and studies, at which time God did graciously help us in singing and speaking to his praise. Blessed be the Lord, it was not without some signal appearance of his presence amongst us."

The year 1677 was a memorable year to Mr. Heywood and his family, on account of the repeated visitations of death. The first was the death of his aged father Richard Heywood, on which occasion he thus expresses himself: "At last God hath put an end to the long and afflicted days of my dear, tender-hearted father; he died March 1st, aged about 82. I may say of him as is recorded of Abraham, that 'he gave up the ghost and died in a good old age, an old man and full of years; and was gathered unto his people:' and as Isaac and Ishmael buried him in a cave, so my dear brother and I buried our beloved father. O my soul, hast thou not some tears to shed at the funeral of a father? Nature binds thee to some workings of affection, and grace helps to regulate them. Thou hast parted with a father, and is this nothing? God would not have such a providence pass without observation and improvement. Thou hast buried a father that provided food and raiment for thee in thy younger days, a father that was at great care and charge for thy education, both in the best schools of the neighbourhood and at the university; but all this was small compared with the inward and anxious workings of his heart for thee, which thou didst never so feelingly know till thou hast of late felt the same towards thy

own. O what instructions, exhortations, and admonitions didst thou receive from him! What prayers did he put up for thee, and what grief did he feel at thy failings! What jealousy he had of me when he came to visit me at Cambridge! What charge did he leave with my tutor concerning me, and how gladly did he welcome any hopes of my well-doing! What solicitude he had concerning my settlement! And though he had been at a great expense in my education, yet how fearful was he lest I should enter the ministry unfit! This induced him to make provision for my residence in Mr. Angier's family; but Providence called me to this place. Even then he did not leave me, but followed me with his counsels and prayers to his dying day. O what a father! Few have the like! Though I can truly say, I have studied to requite him, and thought nothing I could do for him too much, in his straits, yet I have fallen far short of a full recompence. He had a tender love for me, and I hope the remembrance of it will not quickly be worn away from my mind. My gracious Lord also hath not left me comfortless, concerning my dear, deceased father. Blessed be God that his hoary head was found in the ways of righteousness, and that we have good reasons for hope that he sleeps in Jesus, and will have a happy resurrection; and what can we desire more? O Lord, raise up a succession of God-fearing worshippers; and as thou hast been my father's God, and my mother's God, and my God, and the God of my dear companion now at rest, so continue to be my God and guide to death, and be the God of my children, and children's children, even to a thousand generations."

About six months after the death of his father, he was called to attend the funeral of his father-in-law Angier, whom he loved as his own parent. The man-

ner in which he records the event shows how deeply it affected him. "O sad catastrophe! dreadful blow to Zion and my family! Be black ye heavens, tremble thou earth, lament ye saints and sons of Zion. A strong oak is fallen, the choicest flower in the garden is plucked, the Rev. John Angier, pastor of Denton forty-six years, the honour of the ministry in those parts, my dear father-in-law, the best friend I had on earth, is fallen! He was a man of God, a minister of the gospel, and such a one as is not left. The first ague fit attacked him Aug. 21, and five or six others so weakened his spirits and wasted his strength, that Sept. 1st, 1677, he breathed his last. He was buried at Denton with the greatest solemnity, Sept. 3rd; when two knights, twelve ministers, many worthy gentlemen, and multitudes of common people attended his funeral and made great lamentation. And, O my soul, hast thou nothing to say, nothing to do, nothing to lament under this overwhelming providence? A praying Moses is gone, one that stood in the gap and pleaded for Zion and the state; one that, like Aaron, stood between the living and the dead, and prevailed to turn away God's wrath from us; one that gave God no rest day or night, who was successful and saw many returns of prayer. As a minister of the gospel, he was so diligent in studying, so exact in walking, so weighty in expressions, so laborious in God's work, so harmless, charitable, wise, moderate, and useful in private conversation! Though I have known many good men, yet I never knew one like him in every thing; the greater our former mercy, the greater our loss now. Woe to us! What have we lost? A spiritual father in Christ, an earthly angel, a faithful steward of heavenly mysteries, a Boanerges to awaken drowsy sinners, a Barnabas to comfort drooping souls, an Apollos

mighty in the scriptures, and fit to water God's plantation, and a Paul who was caught up to the third heavens, and saw mysteries that his modesty forbad him to utter to others. It now appears what a blessing he was. No sooner was his soul in heaven and his body in the grave, than the scene was changed, and darkness overspread a land of Goshen. O how doth that place sit solitary which was full of people! How do the ways of Zion mourn! O that our eyes may affect our hearts!"

This breach was soon followed by the death of his only surviving brother, the Rev. Nathaniel Heywood, of Ormskirk. Well might Mr. Heywood say: "Job's messengers make haste, treading upon the heels of each other. Scarcely are our tears wiped off for one friend, but tidings of another appal us. God hath broken me with breach upon breach! Righteous art thou, O Lord, when I plead with thee. O my soul, be dumb, open not thy mouth against God. Thou, Lord, hast done it; and though I must not murmur, I may groan; though I must not complain of God, I may of myself; though I must not mourn as one without hope, I cannot lay aside all natural affection. O with what a blow hath God terminated this year! My dear and only brother, ten years a *public* preacher, and half that period vicar of Ormskirk, but turned out on black Bartholomew's day, 1662, having preached in *private* since, and prophesied in sackcloth, is now clothed in white robes before the throne in heaven. His torturing pains struck many a blow at that goodly tree which death cut down, Lord's day morning Dec. 16th, 1677. This is a great loss to the church and nation, to his parish, to his family, and to me in particular. O lamentable loss! What shall I say? How are the mighty fallen! How is the beauty of Israel slain upon the high places!

Alas! alas! those pleasant gardens of Eden, which have been watered with the rivers of God, are likely to be as the mountains of Gilboa, upon which no more wholesome doctrine will drop and distil as the dew; but thistles grow instead of wheat, and noisome weeds instead of barley. O my dear and amiable brother! what words shall I take, with which to lament thee? Alas my brother! the honour of our family is gone! He was a Christian, and a minister of great ability, an ornament to his generation, eminent for zeal, piety, humility, and all ministerial endowments. I am distressed for thee my brother, very pleasant hast thou been to me; yea, every way desirable: profitable while living, honoured in death, and loved in all. Why did not that fatal stroke take me away rather than thee? Am not I the older, and should not I have gone before thee? No, no, death was not blind. My brother was ripe and I am not; he had made haste and despatched his work, and is now receiving his abundant reward, whilst I am wearily tossed on this tempestuous ocean. The death of this excellent servant of God hath gone nearer my heart than any loss I have sustained these many years, on several accounts. We were born of the same parents, were pupils under the same tutors, were neighbouring ministers several years, and for some time kept house together. Seldom has natural affection in brothers been raised to that height that ours was. His going to a distant place was painful to us both, and caused many tears at parting; but our absence was as oil to the flame. Now we are removed to a greater distance from each other! It increaseth my affliction that the church should lose so useful a person in such a day as this. He possessed incomparable qualifications; he had such a strong memory, profound judgment, ready elocution, and extensive learning; he

was many degrees beyond my attainments and capacity, and I have often admired his singular dexterity in managing both polemical and practical discourses to much satisfaction and edification. Seldom have I seen so much fitness for the Lord's work in so young a person. He was far more adapted to do God service in his church than I am, or am ever likely to be. It grieves me when I think of his long continued pain during the most part of the last summer, and yet I have not given him a visit in his deep affliction, having been prevented by business, till he was suddenly surprised with that sickness which proved mortal in three days. I am exceedingly troubled on this account, especially since I have heard he expressed a great desire to see me. Lord, forgive me this sin! for I charge myself deeply with it, though I then thought I had sufficient excuse. This breach is also the more aggravated because it follows so near upon others. My father died March 1st; my youngest sister, Alice, May 9th; my father Angier Sept. 1st; and to bring up the rear, my dear brother, Dec. 16th: all these in this memorable year, surely it has been a black and dismal year! I pray that the death of these eminent servants of God this year, may not prove a fearful prognostic to a more fatal year ensuing. God sometimes hides his saints in the grave from approaching storms, puts his children to bed before night comes on, and calls home his ambassadors before open war breaks out. Though the death of God's aged and eminent servants be often a great loss, yet the death of young Timothies, engaged in God's work, is in a sense more ominous: as when a man cuts down not only old trees but young plants, it is a sign he intends to lay all waste; this the Lord hath remarkably done of late. How very few are the trees of God's right-hand planting, that even a child

may count them! How many full grown cedars have fallen of late, and how few slips have been planted in their place! Though many are growing up in the plantations, yet how few give evidence that they are of the right description! We fear they will either be cumberers of the ground, or bring forth sour grapes! Though this man of God was young in years, he was old in gifts, grace, and usefulness. He was but forty four years of age, yet he had attained to the gravity and maturity of eighty. His time was short, but he had lived long, and he has now obtained the prize; the crown is set on his triumphant head, and he is introduced into the joy of his Lord, while we, poor dull things, are lagging behind, lamenting our loss, and fearing the approach of more dreadful storms. Lord, prevent our fears, prepare us for trials, sanctify this mournful breach, and bring us safely home."

These solemn and repeated strokes produced a deep impression on Mr. Heywood's mind, and made him more attentive to the important duty of self-examination, as the best preparation for his own solemn change. The seriousness, earnestness, and carefulness with which he carried on this investigation, will appear from the following extract: "Nov. 1st, 1677, I set myself in the evening to the practice of that much neglected duty, self-examination; and my soul was occupied with such thoughts as these, which I feel disposed to commit to paper:—

"My soul, thou and I have been long strangers. I go on in the profession of religion, preaching, studying, and performing religious exercises in public and private; but dost thou not read of searching a man's ways? Doth not God command persons to commune with their own hearts, and make diligent search? Hast thou not in thy public work lately urged this

duty? Are not trying times coming on; and is not self-judging in the petty sessions a good help to prevent loss or prepare for the great assizes? Is not the matter of very great importance? Art thou content to go hoodwinked, and live at confused uncertainties? Will not a thorough self-trial pay for the trouble? Art thou so earnest that others should do it, and wilt thou not engage in it thyself? Surely, my soul, it is a profitable duty, and as it is difficult, so it is most likely to prove necessary, because a subtle devil and a wicked heart so much oppose it. And is it indeed so hard a work? Is it a long journey for a man to travel to his own heart? Shall the difficulty discourage thee? Shall it not rather quicken thy endeavours considering its necessity? Art thou not approaching the fiftieth year of thy life, and is it not the afternoon of thy day? Will not death shortly cause thy sun to set, and will it not then be of singular use to have thy evidences fairly written? Who knows what violent assaults Satan may make upon thee, or how thy Lord may withdraw from thee? Then, having thy case well stated, resolved, and confirmed on scripture grounds, it may comfort thee in some trial to which thou mayest be called. Come then, my soul, and let me take thee to task, and ask thee some important questions. But do not thou, as thou art wont, shuffle and trifle, and put me off with good words and hopeful appearances; but go to the bottom, lay the axe to the root of the tree, and be faithful to God and thy own conscience in this great affair. Self-flattery is the high road to inevitable and eternal misery."

"*First*, My soul, dost thou believe, that when thou art separated from this body in which thou now lodgest, thou shalt die as the beasts, and have no ex-

istence? *Ans.* No, I am sure, both from scripture and reason, that I shall have existence in a separate state; for men may kill the body, but God can cast the soul into hell when the body is laid in the grave. There shall also be a resurrection, when the body must follow the state of the soul."

"*Secondly*, But what life must thou live when thou shalt depart from this tabernacle? *Ans.* I do verily believe, that mine, as well as other men's souls, will go into an unchangeable state of joy or misery, in heaven or hell; and that when the body returns to dust as it was, the soul shall ascend to God that gave it, to receive from him the sentence of absolution or condemnation. It is appointed unto men once to die, and after this, the judgment; that is, a personal judgment, preparatory to the solemn day of judgment for all the world. I am as confident that when the soul departs from the body, it enters either joy or woe, as I do believe it must depart."

"*Thirdly*, My soul, what state of eternity dost thou think thou shalt enter, when soul and body are separated? *Ans.* I am not much concerned to know at what hour this body will begin to moulder, nor whether I shall die a natural or violent death, by a sudden accident or by the hands of persecutors; but this I do now believe, with some degree of confidence, (though long under many discouraging doubts and fears,) that when the earthly house of this my tabernacle shall be dissolved, I shall have a house, not made with hands, eternal in the heavens. It has indeed cost me many sighs, prayers, tears, and examinations before I arrived at this comfortable assurance; for it is not the work of a day or two, but of many years. Now I know whom I have believed, and am persuaded, that he is able to keep that which I have committed unto him

against that day—the day of death and judgment; and that he will guide me by his counsel, and afterward receive me to glory. The same gracious and faithful God that took me from my mother's womb, that has been the support of my childhood and staff of my youth, will also be the crown and comfort of my gray hairs: I dare trust him, and as old Polycarp, when tempted by advice given to forsake Christ, could say, 'Eighty-six years hath the Lord kept me, and shall I now forsake him in my old age?' so I can say, above forty years hath the Lord allured and drawn out my heart after himself, and shall I now forsake him? will he now forsake me? Indeed, I have been ready to sink often, and have sometimes imagined I could not go one step farther; but, through grace, I have set up many Ebenezers, and having obtained help of God, I continue to this day as a monument of divine mercy. What God hath done for me, poor and unworthy as I am, will be a source of admiration to saints and angels throughout eternity."

"*Fourthly*, But, O my soul, thou seemest to be very confident; is it not presumption, a hope built on the sand? How dost thou hope to be saved, for thou art a sinner? Doth not God threaten death to sinners? Is he a man that he should repent, and will he reverse the sentence for thee? Is not hell prepared for sinners, and are not fallen angels reserved in chains against the judgment of the great day? On what grounds dost thou expect felicity, seeing many rational creatures just like thee by nature are now in hell? *Ans.* My case is indeed the same by nature as that of the vessels of wrath, for I am a child of wrath as well as others. God made man upright, but he hath sought out many inventions, and hath lost God's image and communion with him. But God in his infinite love and grace hath

pitied lapsed mankind, and when there was none in heaven or earth of sufficient power to rescue forlorn wretches, he sent his own Son, the second person of the sacred Trinity, who thought it no robbery to be equal with God; being God, he sent him to take upon him man's nature, to live a life of sorrows, and die an accursed death, to satisfy violated justice, to appease offended Deity, and make reconciliation between God and man. 'This is a faithful saying and worthy of all acceptation, that Christ Jesus came into the world to save sinners;' he ascended into heaven, and sitteth at the right hand of the Father, to pursue the same design of saving souls; as prophet to teach, as priest to intercede, and as king to gather and rule his purchased people; and at last he will bring all their souls, with this of mine, I hope, to enjoy God everlastingly."

Fifthly, And dost thou imagine, O my soul, that all will be saved by the merits of Christ's undertaking? If not, what ground hast thou to believe that thou shalt have benefit through Christ's redeeming love more than others, who, notwithstanding his death, and though they live under the sound of the gospel, and as confidently hope for salvation as thou, shall perish everlastingly? *Ans.* If I can find that God hath, by his grace, wrought in me repentance and true faith in Christ Jesus, I have good reason to hope that I shall be saved, because these are things that accompany salvation; and though there be no merit nor worthiness in me, yet God is faithful to his promises, and it is as impossible for a truly penitent, believing soul to go to hell, as for an impenitent and unbelieving soul to go to heaven. I find that God makes sinners meet for heaven here, gives them the earnest of his Spirit, seals them to the day of redemption, and hereafter gives an inheritance to them that are sanctified;

whom he calleth, he also glorifieth. It is true, the whole of this is of grace, pure grace; and when free grace will magnify itself, nothing shall hinder the salvation of the soul, for he that hath begun a good work in me, will also perform it until the day of Christ; I may be confident of this, because faithful is he that hath promised, who also will do it; though I be a weak worm of myself, yet I shall be kept by the power of God through faith unto salvation."

"*Sixthly*, O my soul, it is a truth, that those who are sanctified are also justified and shall be saved; but art thou sanctified, in whom lodgeth such a multitude of vile dispositions? Art thou made meet for heaven, who art not meet for any good work here? Art thou sealed by the Holy Spirit of promise, who art daily grieving the Spirit, by sinning against God? Is there any good work wrought in thy heart, who canst not but be conscious to thyself of so much evil, that sometimes thou canst not perceive the existence of good? *Ans.* I must confess, that in me, that is, in my flesh, dwelleth no good thing; to me belongeth nothing but confusion of face; I am the chief of sinners, the least of saints, if a saint. When I look into my heart, I find a cage of unclean and noisome birds, and such a mass of sin, that I am ready to say, surely no spark of saving grace can dwell in such a heart. Can Christ and Belial share so small a compass as a human soul? Will not our Lord be supreme where he comes to dwell? Is it imaginable he can rule where the devil's interest is so strong? Surely this very consideration may damp my hopes and discourage my heart. True 'circumcision is that of the heart, in the spirit, and not in the letter; whose praise is not of men, but of God.' When I read such scriptures, I am much cast down in my own eyes, especially reflecting on the

swarms of vain thoughts that lodge within me. These things make me suppose that all my feelings within, and worship outwardly, are but a fine-spun hypocrisy, which will be swept away as the spider's web, with all the hope that shrouds itself under it. But stay, my soul, be not so peremptory; condemn not all the generation of the just, and thyself with them. Learn to distinguish betwen true perfection of parts and degrees, and to judge of a Christian's state in point of sanctification. Distinguish between a state of sin, and the acts of sin—between having hypocrisy, and being a hypocrite—between the indwelling of corruption, and the dominion of it—between a state of imperfection in grace, and a state of perfection in glory; learn these well, and then descend into the heart. O my soul, though thou canst not say, thou art clean, yet thou canst say, that 'having these promises, thou art cleansing thyself from all filthiness of the flesh and spirit;' and 'having this hope, thou art purifying thyself.' Canst thou not truly say, thou hatest every false way, and regardest not iniquity in thy heart? Wouldst thou not willingly be delivered from this body of death, as thy greatest enemy? Wouldst thou not be holy as God is holy, in all manner of thinking and conversation? Art thou not content to pluck out a right eye, or cut off a right hand? Doth not the spirit within thee lust against the flesh? I hope my soul can comfortably answer these characteristical interrogations. True, I have a troublesome inmate, and there is a sin that doth easily beset me and too much prevails; but I can call to record how many prayers, tears, and lamentations, my corruptions have cost me. Oh what panting for perfect sanctification! What would I give might I be free from sin! If God would set me at liberty from the baneful influence of internal depravity, it would

be the most blessed day I ever saw; I hope I could rejoice more therein than in the gain of the whole world. How weary am I of myself, and being in the world, because of sin! God knows, and this conscience can witness, and some rooms where I have been can bear testimony, that no affliction that ever befell me hath rested so sadly on my spirit, as my sins, and rather than commit them again against my gracious Lord, I thought I should be content to be on a rack, yea, to endure infernal torments. Hath not my God found me many a time on my face, uttering my sad complaints for those sins the world hath known nothing of, and for spiritual wickednesses? Have I not inquired into scripture ways of mortification of sensual affections? Have I not watched against occasions of sin? Hath not my soul been striking at the root of sin, and making fresh applications by faith to the death of Christ for crucifying the flesh and its lusts? And hath my spiritual combat been altogether without success? Hath not my heavenly Joshua sometimes caused me to set my feet on the necks of these Canaanitish kings? Surely, my soul can say, thanks be to God who hath given me the victory through our Lord Jesus Christ. Well then, my soul can truly answer, that though I have a corrupt heart and much sin, yet I do not willingly allow myself in any guile; that sin reigns not, that there is sincere opposition made to it, and that integrity and uprightness shall preserve me; that though I be not a glorified saint in heaven, I am an upright Christian on earth; that although sin be stirring in me, I am not a slave to it; that though I have too much hypocrisy, I am not a hypocrite. This soul of mine can say with Job, 'Thou knowest I am not wicked;' and with David, 'I have not wickedly departed from my God.'"

"*Seventhly*, My soul, thou mayest be upright in avoiding sin, and not willingly allow the gratification of any sensual appetite; but what is all this to the purpose, seeing thou art daily sinning? Do not the scriptures say, 'Cursed is every one that continueth not in all things written in the book of the law to do them?' What art thou then better for thy fighting against and mourning for sin, seeing thou art daily overtaken by it? Canst thou truly say thou committest any sin against thy will? and if thou couldst, what will that advantage thee before the pure and holy God? Will thy honest mind give him satisfaction for violating his laws? Will thy purpose to sin no more, procure a dispensation to sin again, or absolution for past offences? Will thy repentings and conflicts appease God's wrath, justify thy person, or save thy soul? *Ans.* I know that when I have done all, if that were possible, I am still an unprofitable servant; it would be but duty, and doing duty will pay no debt; whatsoever I may do or suffer will bear no proportion to infinite justice wronged by my sins. What I do, and the strength whereby I act is not my own, but my Lord's; by the grace of God I am what I am, and do what I do; yea, my exertions for God, and strivings against sin and Satan are defective and mixed with abundance of vanity. The graces of the Spirit, as exercised by me, are too short a garment to cover my naked soul, and are as filthy rags that need cleansing, and therefore cannot cleanse me. Woe is me! I am a man of unclean lips, and nothing I do is free from pollution; if I justify myself my own mouth will condemn me. If my goodness were perfect it would be finite, and could bear no proportion to infinite justice. The righteousness by which a sinner is justified, must be

commensurate with the infinite holiness and justice of the great God; and this is what God hath provided in his gospel. Christ is become 'the Lord our righteousness;' and 'by him all that believe are justified from all things, from which we could not be justified by the law of Moses;' for God 'hath made him to be sin for us, who knew no sin; that we might be made the righteousness of God in him.'"

The treatment experienced by the Nonconformists after the calling in of the licenses, varied at different times and in different parts of the country. Sometimes a disposition was manifested by those in power, to attempt their comprehension within the pale of the establishment by concessions on both sides; but these measures invariably proved abortive. At other times, there appeared a determination in the magistracy to enforce the penal laws with their utmost rigour. Occasionally the Parliament appeared disposed to show lenity towards their dissenting brethren, and some leading men in the House of Commons spoke in their favour, but were not able to bring any thing to maturity. In some parts of the country, ill-natured persons were on the alert to disturb, if not prevent, their fellow subjects in the peaceable exercise of their religious rights. "Lord's day, April 13th, 1679," says Mr. Heywood, "I rode to Shaw chapel, and preached there to a numerous and attentive congregation without any disturbance. But at night, I was apprehended by Mr. Thos. Baskervil, high constable, and carried before Mr. Entwistle, of Ormskirk, justice of the peace, who treated me very roughly. Lord, sanctify this trial to me, and do me good by it! I was required to give security for my appearance at Manchester the next Quarter Sessions, which being done, I was set at li-

berty. I attended at the Sessions accordingly, was called upon and examined, but God in his good providence working for me, I was honourably acquitted."

"This month, I took a long journey into Nottinghamshire, visited many friends, preached often in different places, and to large audiences. I was admitted into the church at J—, and preached before Sir Ralph Knight, from these words: 'Whosoever doth not bear his cross and come after me, cannot be my disciple.' God graciously helped me through the whole of what I had to do, and gave me a prosperous journey. Part of my business was to visit my son Eliezer, whom Providence has fixed in that part of the country."

Oct. 16th in this year, was observed by Mr. H. as a day of thanksgiving, not on account of any remarkable occurrence, but for the general mercies enjoyed by him and his family, when he indulged himself in the following pious meditations: "I have now waited on God as a Christian many years, and as a preacher near thirty years, with many tears, temptations, wants, and weaknesses. I was engaged to the people of Coley in 1650, and having taken a review of many events during this long period, it has made a strong impression on my mind, so that I have observed this day, as a day of thanksgiving, with above thirty of my special friends in my house at Northowram; and on the evening of this solemn day, I am bound in spirit to make a recognition of God's singular favours to me during my four apprenticeships with this my dearly beloved people. It is true I am conscious of many sins in all this time, for which my soul hath been grieved, and which, I humbly hope, God hath pardoned through the blood of the Mediator, my dear Saviour. I shall only go over some remarkable providences, as a landscape, the

review of which is pleasant to me, and may support my faith and promote my gratitude."

"1. With grateful recollection I look back on the unanimous invitation I received, when I commenced my stated ministry, notwithstanding the numerous imperfections which must have been visible in such a stripling as I then was. 2. The diposition which led me to accept that invitation must have come from above, for previously I had no inclination to take up my residence in this district. 3. God found me a convenient residence, where I had many opportunities of gaining experience both by religious society and otherwise, by seeing the beauty of holiness and the evil of sin, and both were of great use to me. 4. I had some aged christian friends, from whose converse I received much advantage, who were careful of me and faithful to me, for which I have cause to bless God while I have a day to live. 5. God inclined my heart in a year or two to seek a regular admission into the ministerial office by solemn ordination and imposition of the hands of the Presbytery. This was so affectingly carried on by fasting and prayer, that it convinced some at the time, and hath assured me since, that it was God's way. 6. The Lord raised me up out of a dangerous fever, when I imagined I was in the very pangs of death; but God restored me from death to life that I might show forth his praise, and proclaim his will in the land of the living. 7. My dear Lord did graciously prevent temptations, and deliver from falling into gross and scandalous sins, thereby preventing a reproach on the gospel, a stain on my reputation, and a stumbling block in my way of doing good. 8. God knows in what chambers and fields I waited on him, what ejaculations, self-communings, prayers and tears attended my retirement. 9. God helped me to study

hard, to read much, and take pains with my sermons in younger days, and there was more than ordinary need, for I had not enjoyed such advantages as many others; and in some measure God blessed my studies and plain style of preaching. 10. God hath wonderfully succeeded my humble efforts in the conviction and conversion of souls. I shall never forget many who with troubled consciences came to me, and though some of those persons have fallen off, some have gone to heaven and others are on the road: blessed, blessed be my God. 11. God gave me for a wife the precious daughter of a distinguished father, who was spared to me six years, and by whom I had given me three living sons; two still living. She was a singular help to me in my work, but she was fitter for heaven than earth, and she is now with God. 12. By the assistance of my dear and reverend father Angier, I set up discipline and restored the Lord's supper at Coley, which had been long neglected, and unsuccessfully attempted by my predecessors. 13. When I was turned off from my public work, I was in debt, and many of my people forsook me; but in the year 1665, the time of banishment, I got clear, went forward and never have been behind since, though my expences have been great. 14. When I was excommunicated, and not permitted to go to church nor chapel to hear sermons, a few pious persons spent the sabbath with me in my own house, and one evening in the week. At these seasons God surprisingly melted my heart, so that I cannot say, I ever had so much enjoyment all my life; the worse men were, the better was God to me. 15. By the Five-mile Act, I had to travel abroad in the world, by which I obtained much excellent acquaintance, unceasing employment, and comfortable supplies, so that I preached usually every other Lord's

day in some public place in the most dangerous times, and God wonderfully secured me; what men designed for hurt, God turned to advantage. 16. In that difficult time, 1667, God gave me another very amiable companion. I found her to be a pious, useful, faithful wife, whom God hath continued as a rich mercy to me, my sons, and the church of God; a fellow traveller who partakes with me in my mercies and afflictions for the gospel: blessed be my God for her. 17. God smiled on my sons at school, opened a way for their education, gave me the means of supporting them several years, kept them in safety, assisted his servants to pray for them, and, though I had my fears, he hath given me hopes relative to their piety, settled them in desirable places, and made them useful: blessed be my good God. 18. At Coley-hall we had some encouragement, blended however with some inconveniences. God enabled me to purchase a house, sent me a license, opened the door, and hath kept it open to this day; he made the place convenient, brought in numerous assemblies, maintained his ordinances among us, inclined the hearts of his people to encourage us, and kept the lamp burning amidst all the storms; this is the Lord's doing. 19. God hath found me work of importance, at home and abroad, hath directed me to suitable subjects, assisted me in my studies, preaching, and travels, prevented dangers and death, succeeded my poor labours, and made my ministry to be desired in new places, where neither I nor others have preached, and where I hope God hath some lost sheep to bring in. These instances I have enumerated, which might be multiplied were I a good arithmetician. Lord, humble me for my short comings, accept my praises in the course of my ministry, rear more permanent monuments to thy glory, and cease not to do good both in me and

by me. O prepare me for an everlasting day of thanksgiving, when I shall have faculties for that work which I so imperfectly perform in this vale of tears! Haste, Lord, even so come, Lord Jesus!"

In January, 1680, Mrs. Heywood was so severely indisposed, that the congregation was obliged for several weeks, to assemble at a neighbour's house; and Mr. Eliezer Heywood, who was coming to visit her, was taken so ill at Derby, that his life appeared for a time to hang in suspense: but it pleased God to have mercy on them and restore them. "God visited my wife," says Mr. Heywood, "with a violent fever, Jan. 16th, and she continued ill a month, so that four Lord's days I was kept out of my own house, and preached at W. Clay's. My son, Eliezer, was also seized about the same time with the ague, but came to us March 4th. The day after, we kept a solemn day of thanksgiving to pay our vows. I preached on Psal. lxv. 1, and God helped in the work." In recording the circumstances connected with this visitation, he observes, that "when Mrs. H. was very weakly, she wished me to go into another room and pray for her. I did so, and God graciously helped me to give her up into his hands as to a kind father, and so was satisfied. My son, Eliezer, coming to see his mother, fell sick by the way and was obliged to stay at Mrs. Cotton's, at Derby. His ague fits came upon him every other day, and brought him very low; but friends dealt very affectionately and tenderly with him. O my soul, stand admiring the divine bounty! God hath done great things for me, and dandled me on the lap of smiling providences. Thou hadst become out of order; senselessness and security had seized upon thee; hardheartedness, vanity, unbelief, and forgetfulness of God had cast thee into a spiritual lethargy; and this rod

was seasonable and necessary to awaken, for nothing else would do it; in faithfulness to my soul God saw fit to correct. Blessed be his name, that free grace took such care of me as to chastise me; there was need that I should be in heaviness for a season. O what riches of grace, that the rod attained its end! My heart was melted, conscience awakened, grace quickened, corruptions searched and resisted, duties were performed in a more lively manner, the spirit of prayer was poured upon me, so that through grace, I poured out my soul before the face of the Lord. He heard prayer on behalf of my wife, kept the fever from seizing her brain, gave her patience and free submission to the Lord's pleasure, found many friends to help, quickened the spirits of Christians in prayer for her, in due time completed her recovery, and helped her heart in some suitable acknowledgement. My God did also wisely order the circumstances of my son's affliction; he was cast into a religious and kind family, where they were as careful of him as of their own child; and the Lord dealt gently with him; blessed be his name. 'My soul shall make her boast in the Lord; the humble shall hear thereof and be glad. I sought the Lord and he heard me, and delivered me from all my fears. This poor man cried, and the Lord heard him, and delivered him out of all his troubles.' O what a God do I worship! Ready at hand to help, a present help in time of trouble. Who, or what am I, that the Lord should deal thus graciously with me? I must say, while I live, 'it is good for me to draw nigh unto God. What shall I render unto the Lord for all his benefits towards me?' My soul, love thou the Lord, because he hath heard thy voice. O call upon him continually! O my soul! thou hast succeeded so well, and obtained such good alms at this

door, find the way to it again, and bring an offering daily of praise and prayer; so shalt thou receive something better than thou bringest. Return unto thy rest, centre in God, look no where else for happiness; in him thou mayest have the desire of thy heart. But withal, I do solemnly charge thee to walk holily, watchfully, and usefully before the Lord in the land of the living. Take heed to thy ways, make good thy promises, seek more power against corruptions, pray more frequently, seriously, and affectionately, converse more spiritually and profitably, clear up thy interest in Christ and title to heaven more carefully, and get prepared for glory. O my soul, mercy calls for duty; new mercies bestowed upon thee require new observances from thee; thou canst never do too much for God, nor make sufficient returns to him, for thou art sadly defective; thou must die in thy Lord's debt, and he will put thee into a capacity of continually paying the sweet debt of thankfulness to all eternity. How often hast thou forfeited all thy mercies, and incurred God's just displeasure? How oft hast thou provoked him to make a legal seizure of thy borrowed enjoyments? But my Lord hath yet spared, and mercifully continued these desirable connections; let him alone have the glory, and my soul the benefit of them."

So deep were the impressions made on his grateful heart by these tokens of the divine favour to him and his, that he resolved to renew his solemn vows to God in writing, but was prevented accomplishing his design till the 15th of March, the return of the day on which he had been baptized, fifty years before, when he thus expressed the feelings of his mind:—

"Eternal Jehovah! The God to whom belong the issues from death, in whose hands our breath is, and whose are all our ways, who killest and makest alive,

who alone canst absolve and condemn; I, thy poor servant, the workmanship of thy hands, have been preserved by thy wonderful providence fifty years in the world, in various places, companies, conditions, relations and afflictions; have been wonderfully preserved from suffering shipwreck on this boisterous sea, and have pressed without harm through the fiery furnace of sharp trials, public and personal, spiritual and natural. Thrice I have been in a raging fever, yet by a miracle of mercy have been raised from death to life; I have had many a weary day of sickness; have travelled thousands of miles, and had many falls, but never have broken a bone; have buried father and mother, sisters and brothers, a wife and child, yet *my* life has been given me for a prey; I have escaped many sad accidents, known and unknown; I have been twice excommunicated, thrice imprisoned, once plundered, banished from my own house, often sought after with warrants, many times made to flee, suspended from my public preaching, have ventured in the face of apparent dangers, been threatened, watched, and often vexed by censures, railing, and scorn from those that were at ease: yet my bow abides in strength, being strengthened by the hand of the mighty God of Jacob. I have had studyings, watchings, fastings, preachings, real burdens, frightful imaginations, discouragements and disappointments in my ministerial work; I have been in low condition in the world at some seasons, have had debts, cares and fears about my sons; and whatever else is wont to befall a man, or a Christian, or a minister, the care of the churches abroad, and my own flock at home, fear of being unfaithful, unskilful, and unsuccessful; add to all these the daily burdens and temptations arising from my ejection and continued exclusion from public employment above seventeen years,

while the people in some places are perishing for lack of knowledge, and while some of my old hearers are going towards hell, and I have not liberty to preach to them: all these, and numbers more of troubles, God hath helped me safely to pass through, and hath maintained me in my work; blessed be God. Besides all these, I have of late had alarms respecting my wife and sons, the elder with a dangerous consumption, the younger with an ague, and my wife with a fever; yet God hath spared them in answer to my poor, weak requests; blessed be his name. And now, O my Lord, having obtained help of thee, I continue unto this day, as a monument of divine patience, care, and mercy, and know not what things will be my lot the remainder of my days, nor am I solicitous what my God will do with me, so that I may finish my course with joy and the ministry I have received of the Lord Jesus. My life is not dear to me in comparison with the gospel; my great fear is, lest I should deny my Lord or his truth, in this adulterous generation; and though the most unworthy to do or suffer any thing for my Lord, yet I have given up myself wholly to thee, my God. Thine I am, by many thousand obligations which thou hast laid on me, and which I have laid on myself in solemn days of fasting, thanksgiving, and sacraments, in times of affliction, and on the receipt of mercies; and I do not repent of this deed of gift, which I have so often subscribed with my hand; and if it were to do again I would do it, for the Lord hath requited me for all my poor, weak service and suffering, if he were not to give me any more reward. My greatest trouble is, that I have so often departed from my God by an evil heart of unbelief, that I have not performed my vows, maintained such a sense of his omnipresence, holiness, and power, nor exercised faith, love, self-denial, and

joy in God as my soul desires. I am really ashamed of my folly and faults, and solicit pardon through the blood of Jesus, and divine assistance for future performances. Thou great Jehovah! who knowest the secrets of the heart, make me sound in thy statutes that I be not ashamed. I once again, put my soul into thy hands. Brighten up thy image in me, assist me further in duty, quicken my heart in thy ways, pardon my short comings, heal my diseases, give me perseverance, and crown me with glory.

"Thy worthless servant,

"OLIVER HEYWOOD."

The cause of Popery about this time appeared to gain ground; popish plots were frequently contrived, and the Duke of York being a violent papist, every zealous friend to the Protestant interest was in a state of alarm. The Parliament, aware of this situation of things, were inclined to exempt the Nonconformists from the penalties to which they were liable, and to exclude the duke from the succession. The king was greatly dissatisfied with their proceedings, and hastily prorogued them; but before they rose, the House of Commons came to the following resolution: "Resolved, *nem. con.* That it is the opinion of this House, that the Acts of Parliament made in the reigns of Queen Elizabeth and King James against popish recusants, ought not to be extended against Protestant Dissenters; and that the prosecution of Protestant Dissenters upon the penal laws, is at this time grievous to the subject, a weakening of the Protestant interest, an encouragement to Popery, and dangerous to the peace of the kingdom." Notwithstanding the fears entertained of the increase of Popery, which were well founded, the persecution of the Nonconformists was

increased by the violent spirit of the high church dignitaries. Many pamphlets were published to represent the dissenters as schismatics and rebels; and even Dr. Stillingfleet, dean of St. Paul's, who had generally been considered a moderate man, preached and printed a sermon, in 1680, entitled, "The Mischief of Separation." Orders were sent from the king and council to suppress all conventicles, and the enemies of the Nonconformists were inspired with fresh courage in every part of the kingdom. Mr. Heywood had not experienced much trouble from the recalling of licenses; but on August 15th, 1680, he was cited before the Consistory Court, at York, with his wife, and several of his friends, for not receiving the sacrament at the parish church; and because they did not appear, they were all excommunicated. The excommunication was published at Halifax church, the 24th of October following.

In those dark and foreboding days, a few young men of piety and ministerial ability entered on the work of the ministry, among the despised and persecuted Nonconformists, and Mr. Heywood was sometimes engaged in taking a part in their ordinations. Mr. Timothy Jollie, of Sheffield,* who afterwards be-

* Mr. Timothy Jollie, soon after his ordination, married Elizabeth Fisher, the daughter of his predecessor. About the close of the following year, (1682) he was committed close prisoner to the Castle, at York, where he remained some months. To that dismal place his affectionate wife accompanied him, and was there delivered of a daughter. After various discouragements and troubles, the fury of his persecutors was happily restrained by the Revolution, and he passed the remainder of his days in peace and extensive usefulness, as a minister, and especially as a tutor. He died April 28th, 1714, having survived Mrs. J. five years. His sermon, preached and published on account of the death of his father, is now very scarce. Dr. Grosvenor, who had been one of his students, gives the following character of him: "He was a man of an excellent spirit, of great spirituality and sweetness of

came the distinguished tutor of the dissenting academy, at Attercliffe, Mr. Heywood's spiritual son in the gospel, was one whose ordination he not only attended, but of which he has left the following account: "April 25th, 1681, Mr. Thomas Jollie came to my house, according to former appointment, and lodged with us. The day after, we rode to Sheffield upon a solemn occasion, the setting apart of Mr. Timothy Jollie, chosen to be the pastor of the church in that place, of which Messrs. Fisher and Durant* had been pastors before. Beside us two, there were Messrs. Hancock and Bloom

temper. The orders of his house were strict and regular; and few tutors maintained them better, and with so little severity. Every thing here was sytematical. He had a charming voice, flowing, and of a musical sound; a natural eloquence; his elocution and gesture were such as would recommend any orator. The pathetic was sometimes so heightened with that divine enthusiasm, which is peculiar to true devotion, that he would make our hearts glow with a fervour which he kindled in the breasts of those who endeavoured all they could not to be moved by him. There have been tutors of greater learning, who have been capable of laying out a greater compass of education; but, at the same time, it must be acknowledged, that the relish for practical religion, that devotional spirit which was so improved by his example, that sweetness of temper and benevolent turn of mind, which a soul of any thing the same make insensibly catches from such an example, are things not every where to be met with; and yet have such an influence towards our usefulness and acceptance as ministers, as cannot possibly be supplied by any other qualities."

* Mr. Fisher was ejected from the parish church in Sheffield. After his ejectment, he was in frequent troubles and very severely used. His long and cruel imprisonment brought on him an illness in which he languished four or five months, and then died in January, 1666. He was succeeded by Mr. Durant, ejected from the vicarage of Crowle, in Lincolnshire. He accepted the pastoral office of this Independent church, in 1669, and continued to serve them in the gospel till within about a month of his death, which took place, February 12th, 1678, in the 71st year of his age. See Nonconformist Memorial, vol. iii. p. 447, and vol. ii. p. 414.

called in for assistance, who came early on Wednesday morning. We all consulted together how to perform that service. They unanimously appointed me moderator, though I would have avoided it. I began the public service with prayer, about ten o'clock; and my God did graciously assist me in that duty near an hour. Then we put Mr. Jollie to the work of preaching, for a trial of his gifts. He preached on Isaiah lix. 1, 2, very satisfactorily. We dismissed the people, and then engaged in the work of examination, in which we spent about three hours, going through logic, philosophy, languages, divinity, &c. Through an oversight, he had no position in Latin allotted to him; however, something was done *extempore*, by way of disputation, An infantes omnes baptizorum etsi scandalizantium sint baptizandi?* Having disputed on this subject, we parted at near six o'clock, and appointed to meet at the same place at seven o'clock the next morning. (Besides Mr. Jollie, we were desired to try the gifts of two others, Mr. David Noble, formerly a schoolmaster at Morley, and Mr. Robert Dickenson, an English scholar. The former of these engaged in prayer, and preached on Rom. viii. 1, very profitably; but we wanted time with reference to the latter.) The next morning, Mr. Hancock went to prayer, and after him, Mr. Bloom. Most of the members of the society were present, only we were informed, that two were dissatisfied with ordination by presbyters, and thought it should be by ruling elders in the name of the people; but no notice was taken of them or their opinion, and we went on with our work. I propounded such queries to Mr. Jollie as are prescribed; to which he answered. Then his father

* Whether all infants of persons baptized, but notoriously irregular in their conduct, should be baptized?

gave him up to God in this office by prayer, which he did very pathetically. After that, he kneeling down, God helped me to pray over him on his actual ordination by imposition of hands; and there were considerably strong feelings excited in all present. At the close of that solemnity, I proceeded to give the exhortation, which was grounded on 1 Tim. iv. 15. God helped me in that work in some good measure, and I concluded with prayer. The elder of the church then desired all who were not of that society to withdraw; so most of the people dispersed, for there was a full assembly. We all withdrew for about half an hour, when one of the society read a letter from Mr. Griffith,* of London, dismissing Mr. Jollie from his church to the Sheffield people. Their elder then spoke in the name of the people expressing their desires, that he would accept the pastoral office over them, to which the rest signified their consent by lifting up the hand; and Mr. Jollie signified his willingness to serve them in the gospel. Afterwards, Mr. Jollie's father discoursed on the relative duties of pastor and people, wherein he enumerated thirty or forty appellations given to ministers in scripture, applying them distinctly and very usefully. When he had done, his son concluded all with prayer, very sensibly and sweetly. The whole company was then dismissed, we having continued in the Lord's work from eight o'clock in the morning till eight at night, except about half an hour's intermission between four and five o'clock. We gave him an instrument on parchment, under our hands, of what we had done for him that 28th of April, 1681."

* Mr. Griffith was formerly of the Charter-house, in London, and afterwards preached at Girdler's-hall. See Nonconformist Memorial, vol. i. p. 107: Wilson's History of Dissenting Churches, vol. ii. p. 516—518.

Mr. Heywood, like every faithful minister of the gospel, was very anxious for the success of his ministry, and, though he was remarkably useful in the conversion and edification of souls, he was sometimes distressed lest he should have laboured in vain. To encourage him to go forward in the good work in which he was engaged, his divine Master frequently furnished him with gratifying intelligence of success, particularly at those seasons when most discouraged. On one of these occasions, he thus expresses himself: "I was extraordinarily employed in Lancashire, preaching almost every day, for nearly a fortnight, in several places about Manchester, Bolton, and Rochdale; I laid out myself in weeping and labours, but had no encouragement concerning the success of my ministry. The last day, Sept. 30th, 1681, returning homewards, I preached near Heywood Chapel, to a numerous assembly. There I heard of a circumstance that exceedingly cheered me, which was, that Mr. Chadderton, now a serious Christian and famous preacher, though living privately with Mr. Sargeant, at Stand, was wrought upon by a sermon I preached at Underwood, near Rochdale, many years ago, and which I never heard of till that day. The like I heard also of Mr. Timothy Hodgson, who owns me as an instrument of good to his soul. And is it so, O my soul, is any one wrought upon by the word in thy mouth? Hath God owned thy labours for good to any, yea, so many, and to such as tend towards the sacred office of the ministry? O adore and admire free grace in it! Give God the glory. O may I speak, live, and walk to his praise whose work alone it is from first to last! Who, or what was I that God should single me out for that high office? Grace is more magnified in me than in many others; but God will do what he pleaseth. He can pour his gifts

into the emptiest cask, and give success to the most unlikely instruments. The silly ass shall forbid the madness of a prophet, and the crowing cock convince a fallen apostle, if a divine power accompany them. The walls of Jericho shall fall down at the sound of the rams' horns, and Gideon's three hundred shall defeat the host of the Midianites; yea, the mere breaking of the pitchers, shining of the lamps, and sounding of the trumpets shall overcome the enemies. The apostle, alluding to this, saith, 'We have this treasure in earthen vessels,' &c. 2 Cor. iv. 7. O that ever free grace, which had great choice among the sons of men, should single out such a poor worm as I, make and account me faithful, putting me into the ministry, bring me in by the scriptural door, make me laborious in my studies, faithful to sound principles, conscientious in practice, compassionate to sinners, abundant in labours, and in some of the thirty things which Paul speaks of himself, in 2 Cor. xi. Who am I, that God should engage my heart to the suffering party, and to trust in him when so many turn aside to worldly preferments! Who am I, that God should find me out suitable and full employment, when so many choice ministers would gladly work, but cannot; for no one calls them to labour in the vineyard, and they stand idle in the market-place all the day (or rather this night) of persecution and banishment from public assemblies! Yea, lastly, who am I, that God should give such blessed success, when many better than I labour all the day and catch nothing? O wonder of grace! I cannot say, 'I have laboured in vain, and spent my strength for nought.' Some souls are gathered to Christ by me, even by me, the unworthiest and weakest of all my brethren; yea, some are gained who may be the means of gaining others! O

free grace! Aaron's rod doth blossom and bring forth almonds! When Peter was restored, he sought to convert and strengthen his brethren; and when David had a right spirit renewed in him, he taught transgressors God's ways, and sinners were converted to him. O that these converts may feel what they say, and speak what they feel! May these lights be set on a hill to give light to others, and these springs be opened to refresh the city of God! O may the same power that forms saints and appoints ministers, at length bring them into sweet communion in ordinances!"

Mr. Heywood was alarmed by the frequent illness of his son Eliezer, which not only affected his body, but had such an influence sometimes on his mind as to unfit him for a season for the discharge of his duties. He had two severe fits of illness in 1680, and was again visited with sickness in the autumn of 1681; at which time his father writes: "My son Eliezer having been under various infirmities of body, temptations of Satan, desertion of spirits, and exceeding despondencies, wrote to me from Walling-wells complaining sadly. He came over to me and hoped he should find relief by going into Craven, but found none. He was much discouraged, went to God much in secret prayer, and in other duties, lamenting a hard heart and God's withdrawing himself. At last we had a solemn day of fasting and prayer at J. Greaves's, where he sadly bewailed his case. I was much troubled for him, and concluding the service of the day, God helped my heart much in pleading for him. The day after, as we rode together, he told me God gave him some token for good in that duty, and the evening after, when going to prayer with us in the family, he was much carried out in thankfulness to God for the smiles of his face

and encouragement in secret, desiring to give up himself to the ministry in the meanest place. Blessed, blessed be God. We designed a day of thankfulness to God, Sept. 13th, and the day before, our Lord gave us another mercy in reference to him; for having directions from Dr. Carl, of Manchester, to relieve him of his quartan ague that had been hanging upon him eight months, the Lord so blessed the medicine that we have good hopes of his recovery. We spent the day in thanksgiving, and our God made it a sweet heart-melting day. Eliezer prayed and praised God affectionately, but John exceeded. My heart was exceedingly drawn out, so that I have seldom met with the like in company. O what a time was it for about six hours! Surely God's presence was with us! Let him have the glory."

"And now what shall I say! My dear Lord hath outdone my thoughts, prevented us with his blessings, counteracted our fears and deserts, and hath magnified his word above all his name. How many mercies come crowding in upon us! Health of body, peace of conscience, operations of grace, and hopes of glory. So well doth our Lord love a thankful heart, that he gives new matter of gratitude when he sees us aiming at it; the very design of paying our vows pleaseth him, and brings in fresh mercies; in the day of our gratitude we had new grounds of gratitude. Health of body is sweet, especially when it comes as a return of prayer. Comfort to a drooping spirit is very desirable as a performance of promise; but the workings of the spirit of adoption in the hearts and lips of my children is transcendent love, it is the fruit of Christ's purchase, an evidence of grace, and a forerunner of glory, especially when it comes as light after darkness, and as a resurrection from the dead. O that ever my Lord

should deal thus well with me! God hath known my fears and prayers, cares and tears for these very mercies. He saw in secret and has rewarded openly. O that ever God should give me children, spare their lives, make them capable of learning, train them up hitherto, sanctify them by his grace, employ them in his work, set one of them apart in his way, make the other at last willing and desirous of that office against all discouragements within and without, make them choose the persecuted way of nonconformity in such a day as this is, not consulting flesh and blood, but opposing all arguments fetched from thence, by the glorious and genuine purpose of the ministry, begging of the Lord that he would trust them with an opportunity of labouring for souls, though in the most mean and contemptible places: this, this is to me greater satisfaction than if they were preferred to the highest dignities in the church. 'My soul doth magnify the Lord, and my spirit hath rejoiced in God my Saviour. For he hath regarded the low estate of his servant; for behold, from henceforth all generations shall call me blessed,' &c. Luke i. 46—50. Lord, thou hast given me more comfort in giving me and mine covenant grace, than if thou hadst made us earthly princes. O for a thankful heart! O for an obedient life! 'What shall I render to the Lord for all his benefits towards me, &c.' Psal. cxvi. 12, 16. Now, even now, God begins to hear the prayers of ancestors, now the graces that flourished in mother and grandmother spring up in young Timothies. May the blessing of their father prevail among the blessings of my progenitors. Who knows what a reserve my Lord hath for his church in my sons and their companions? Lord, have respect to the rising generation. Let thy Urim and Thummim,

(light and perfection) be in the minds and hearts of these consecrated to thee."

Every duty connected with the ministerial office was diligently observed by Mr. Heywood. He was often called to attend the bed of affliction and death; and on one of these occasions the scene he describes is truly awful. "Lord's day Dec. 4th, 1681, J. L. came to me with a message for me from Mr. J. Hanson, preacher at Honley, who being sick and startled on account of his sins much desired to see me; I went the day after. He was much affected at the sight of me, embraced me, and asked me to tell him what true repentance is. I described it, both in discourse and by repeating a sermon from 2 Cor. vii. 10, concerning the mistakes of men about it. He told me he was sorry for his sins from his heart, &c. He lamented he had so rashly entered on a work he was not fit for, adding, that he thought there was not a priest in the country, that preached in public places, who was a minister of Jesus Christ. I told him, I hoped some were good men. O, said he, Mr. Heywood, it had been happy if I had given over preaching and betaken myself to some other calling, when I was so alarmed by your preaching many years ago in this chapel; but I took it up for a livelihood, and have been very negligent of my people's souls. I came into this country and married a wife with a great estate, and began to keep gentlemen's company, spent all my property, ran into debt, and could not stay in the country but fled into Cheshire. I went to be Col. Lees' chaplain, a house of excessive drinking, this broke my constitution, and since my return I have been much addicted to liquor. He then desired my counsel and prayers. I spoke to him as I was able, and went to prayer with him that night and

in the morning. My soul bled for him, for I found him very ignorant, but much awakened. Intemperance had brought on him a desperate surfeit and consumption. Several persons were present and were much affected. What the Lord will do with him I cannot tell, but I will pray and wait for an answer of prayer and success on my poor endeavours. [He was buried Dec. 27th, 1681.]

" O my soul, what improvement dost thou make of this providence? It cost thee some difficulty to travel eight miles, in bad ways, to visit this stranger; but thou didst comply with a call, and glad wast thou of such an opportunity of doing good. As God helped me, I laid his sin home upon him, his rash entrance, negligent management, ill example, mispent time in the ministry; his dishonouring God, hardening the wicked, damning his own soul, &c. I confess I was very defective, and could not see the desired effect; and God hath hereby afresh convinced me, that it is not in man's power to work grace, and that of all persons, profane preachers are the most unlikely to be wrought upon, God in justice denying grace to despisers of grace. This poor man, I fear, is not rare as a black swan, for he hath too many companions amongst the depraved clergy of England. O how many aspire at the office and maintenance, but are strangers to the work and conscientiousness of ministers! How many enter in not by the door, but some other way, and so are thieves and robbers in their entrance and progress, and draw on them the guilt of the blood of souls! Lord, what a sad state is this land in! Blesssed Jesus, come with thy scourge of small cords, and drive out the buyers and sellers from the temple; rouse up the slumbering shepherds that ought to watch the sheep, but who drive them from the mount of God into for-

bidden paths of sin; startle their consciences, lest death leave them helpless and hopeless. Lord, thrust out loiterers, or turn them to be labourers, and employ in thy harvest those that have been unemployed. Do thou build up Zion, and appear in thy glory, and let the earth be covered with the knowledge of God, as the waters cover the sea. Why may not, even now, thy almighty power change the hearts of profane preachers, as when a multitude of priests became obedient to the faith? O poor souls, that have such blind guides! But, O sadder case of such dumb dogs that cannot bark; yea, greedy dogs that can never have enough, but fill themselves with strong drink! O that God would give his people pastors according to his own heart, that may feed them with knowledge and understanding! God forbid that I should advance myself above others, but I will not deny what my dear Lord hath done for me; by the grace of God I am what I am. Distinguishing grace hath counted me faithful, and put me into the ministry, and hath made me faithful in it; I thank my Lord Jesus Christ. Lord, let this example quicken me in my Master's work, and further my good account. Amen, amen."

When he had entered on the year 1682, Mr. H. took a solemn review of the transactions of the preceding year, and says: "I find that the special hand of my dear Lord hath been upon me for good in his work, wherein he hath helped me to be abundant. In the year 1681, God hath helped me in preaching on week days 105 sermons, keeping 50 fasts and 9 thanksgiving days, and in travelling 1400 miles about my Master's work. Having made this review, I set myself, Jan. 10, 1682, to spend some time with my dear Lord in my closet, and was from about nine to twelve o'clock in that employment. First, I fell on my face, and gave God the

glory of the preceding year's mercies, for about an hour. O what a sweet, melting exercise it was! Then I spent another hour in confessing and bewailing my sins that year, and begging pardon and strength. Lastly, I read and expounded, as it fell in my course, Ezekiel xxxiv, pleading the promises in the latter part of it for the church. Reflections—O my soul, mayest thou not sing of mercy and judgment; mercy first, and afterwards of judgment? Sing of both, for God hath allayed the sweetness of mercy with a dash of wholesome wormwood in thy cup. Thy God remembers mercy in the midst of judgment, sharply afflicting and sweetly supporting, and making all tend to good. Blessed be God. O what a year of mercies hath the preceding been! I have ridden many hundred miles and met with no dangerous falls; all my bones do say, Lord, who is like to thee? I have heard of many others meeting with great troubles in short journeys this year; but God hath delivered my soul from death, mine eyes from tears, and my feet from falling. Another year is added to, yet also taken from my life. What art thou better, O my soul, at the end than thou wast in the beginning of the year? What increase of grace, progress in holiness, and power against corruption, hast thou acquired? What good hast thou attained or done to souls? What additions hast thou made to thy stock of knowledge, love to God, faith and repentance? God hath been kind to thee; hast thou been dutiful to him, faithful to thy trust, and useful in thy generation? Have thy acts of obedience been daily renewed? Canst thou reflect with comfort on having spent the past year? Thou hast been much employed; hast thou been well employed? Canst thou reflect with comfort on the manner, as well as the number of thy works for God? Thou hast preached oft; hast thou preached

well? Thou hast put up many prayers; canst thou say they were sincere, believing, and fervent? Thou hast kept many fasts; were they such as God hath chosen? What frame of spirit hast thou maintained in all thy journeys? What edifying discourse hast thou uttered in all the companies thou hast conversed with? Alas! I may take shame to myself. The sins of the last year have been multiplied. It is well if all scores between God and thy soul be cleared, when now a new year is begun. If the Lord should mark iniquities, who can stand? I cannot answer him for one of a thousand. On attempting to cast up my accounts, I find my arithmetic far short of recounting either my mercies or sins: David accounts both innumerable, and so may I. Mercy hath filled up every hour of the day, and every moment of the hour; and so have my transgressions. Alas! my thanksgiving days have been short of my fasting days, and how much more short of my mercies! My repentings have been short of my professions of humiliation; but infinitely short of proportion to my sins. How may I sit down wondering, that God hath not shaken me off the hand of his providence, as a viper into the fire of hell! Lord, take thou the glory of the last year's mercies, and pardon my offences and provocations. Wash away all scores in the blood of Jesus. Give my soul the comfort, and thy people the advantage of my daily labours in the gospel. Give me grace for the services and sufferings of the ensuing year. Maintain my liberty one year more; if not, fit me for daily crosses: and if this year produce more notable revolutions of providence than the preceding in mercy or judgment, O lead me safely through all to thy glory and my comfort."

This year, orders were sent from the king and council to suppress all conventicles, which were rigorously ob-

served in many parts of the kingdom, particularly in London and its neighbourhood. The peaceful assemblies of the saints were often disturbed by some hireling informer, the minister imprisoned, and the hearers fined. Warrants were issued by the justices of the sessions, to all constables in their district, to search those places in which it was most probable that religious meetings were held, by the Nonconformists. They were to take the preacher and principal hearers before some neighbouring justice, that they might be fined or sent to prison, on the evidence of the informer given on oath. At the sessions, the constables were generally called upon to give an account of all the conventicles they found, that they might be proceeded against. Thus hosts of spies, allured by the hope of sharing the spoil, sought out the meeting-places of dissenters, and kept them in perpetual fear. Frequently the officers in Mr. Heywood's township gave him intelligence of the hours, they designed to call and search his house, and he ordered the times of meeting accordingly; so that while many of his neighbouring brethren were disturbed, he enjoyed his liberty. Having experienced so much mercy in his preservation, he set apart Aug. 30, 1682, as a day of thanksgiving for ten years' liberty in religious exercises, since the date of the licenses issued by Charles II. On this day he thus wrote: "Notwithstanding many warrants issued out against us, as well as others, we have been secured, through the moderation of our officers, when all the societies round about us have been sadly broken and scattered."

Mr. H. spent much of this year in visiting his friends at a distance, and those visits of friendship were generally converted into journeys of mercy; but, while occupied with his labours of love, he was fre-

quently exposed to danger. The appearance of difficulty and peril did not, however, frighten him from the path of duty. "Lord's day morning, Nov. 5th," he says, "being at R. Forster's, near Horbury, and having in my turn designed to preach at Alverthorp, that day, I was much helped in secret prayer, and in the parlour before day. But R. N. the high-constable, with twelve officers, came to disturb us. Yet God heard prayer—in assisting near an hour before he came;—in giving us notice and time for dispersing, so that they took us not together;—in preserving me out of their hands, when they chiefly aimed to apprehend me, hunted me out in several places, searched the house where I was, and the chamber with a lighted candle, a bed only being the means to secure me;—and in giving opportunity to preach in the evening to a full company."

At the close of this year, Mr. H. went to visit his son, Eliezer, and was invited to accompany the family in which his son was chaplain, in a journey to London. The invitation was unexpected, but, he says, "I commended the matter to God in prayer, and my heart was much satisfied about it. This appeared very strange to me, as I had not the least thought of it when I came from home, nor was it possible to consult my wife about it. We set out Dec. 25th, and returned to Walling-wells, Feb. 9th, 1683. I was absent from my own house eight weeks and a day, during which I received many returns of prayer. God satisfied my wife about my journey, though it was a surprize to her at first. The company I journeyed with was very obliging, kind, and tender to me, and God made me of some use to them, by praying with them morning and evening during the journey. We had fine weather for the time of the year, and preservation from accidents.

God found me hospitable entertainment and many affectionate friends. He also gave me suitable work in his wise providence, as I had an opportunity of praying and preaching, both privately and publicly, with safety, though it was a time of great hazard, many ministers being disturbed and sent to prison. By this visit, I became acquainted with many worthy and holy men of God. I preached for Mr. Nathaniel Vincent,* the Lord's day after he was apprehended, yet no justices nor officers came near to interrupt us. Blessed be God. It pleased God, by my preaching that day, to set home conviction upon a young man in the assembly, and it is hoped that it had a saving effect. This is worth my journey to London; let God have the glory. I visited my son at Garson, and was refreshed. I conversed with the company about matters of religion as we came down; what fruit it may have I know not, but God helped me to discharge my conscience. When within three miles of home, my horse stumbled in a snow-drift and fell, but I received no harm. What reason for gratitude! Being out of the road, if I had broken my leg, I might have lain and perished there. On my return home, found my family well and comfortable. God preserved the public peace of my congregation, though others had been disturbed, and provided supplies for them every sab-

* Mr. Nathaniel Vincent was ejected from the rectory of Langley Marsh, in Buckinghamshire, by the Act of Uniformity. He came to London soon after the dreadful fire in 1666, and preached with much zeal and success to large congregations amidst its ruins. He collected a numerous congregation in Southwark, and suffered much hardship, and many imprisonments and fines for the cause of God and of souls. See Nonconformist Memorial, vol. i. p. 304—308.—Wilson's History of Dissenting Churches, vol. iv. p. 296—304.

bath day. Blessed be my good God. Feb. 21st, We kept a day of thanksgiving to pay our vows."

In the year 1683, Mr. H. was much exposed to danger by his numerous labours at home and abroad, but the special care of God was exercised over him, in softening the hearts of his opponents or giving him information of their intentions, and in disposing others to behave kindly to him. He notices several instances of this nature. "April 10th. Richard Jepson, a bailiff, of Halifax, came to my house, and told my wife he came to summons me to the sessions. We were solicitous about it and resolved not to go, though I feared the consequences of refusing. God set my heart seriously to seek him on that behalf together with some christian friends. They afterwards went to the man, gave him a small pittance, and he promised he would not attend the sessions. He accordingly did not appear, and the justices were moderate with the officers. Ebenezer."

"I promised to go and preach among a people in private, near Cross-stone Chapel, where God hath begun a hopeful work in the hearts of several young persons. The day fixed, was May 29th. The day before I spent some time in prayer, when God aided me in pleading with him for souls. Though I apprehended trouble, yet my heart was much carried out for the conversion of sinners, so that I rose above the fear of dangers. I thus expressed myself before God, 'that if he commanded me to go, and had any work for me to do in that place, I would go, as Luther said, if there were as many devils to oppose me as tiles or slates on the houses.' Accordingly, in the name and strength of my great Master, I set out about five o'clock in the morning. My friend, who met me on the way, had

great fears of danger, but God animated my heart. I rode about twelve miles, and about eleven o'clock began my work. The house was very commodious, and every part was full, and also many persons outside. We began with a Psalm. I went to prayer, and God exceedingly affected my heart, and made apparently strong impressions on the people. I preached about effectual calling, from 1 Pet. v. 10, and went peaceably through the doctrinal part; but when engaged in the use of conviction, I heard a great bustle in the chamber over my head, and, when I enquired the reason, was told the constable was coming. I desired they would compose themselves and hearken to God's word. They did so; and I went on. But I had not preached much longer before the constable sent and desired me to give over, for he had two warrants and would be obliged to take me if I did not forbear, and he was unwilling to meddle with me: so I made a little more haste (having preached two hours) and dismissed the people. After the prayer and blessing the constable withdrew, while the people went away. I went into the parlour, and after a while, he came again with two men and pretended to search the house, but said he was as loth to see me as I was to see him. He was doubtless sent by Mr. Robinson, preacher at Cross-stone Chapel, who had given notice to preach that day, but no one attended. This certainly vexed him, for great numbers came to the house to hear me. I consider all this as a great mercy and a return of prayer. God moderated the constable, assisted me in prayer and preaching, though Satan had a spite against the application of my sermon, and God suffered him to prevent the full handling of that part of my subject. The people were much affected with the providence. Who can tell what good it may do? Who can tell, but

the devil may have overshot the mark with his own bow? God's call by that providence may be louder than the call by his ordinance. O that it may be so!"

"July 7th. This evening, J. Oakes, the high constable came to warn me against preaching at my house, and said it would not be suffered. I told him, I acted orderly, and hoped I did no harm. He said, he came as a friend and I must take it in kindness; I thanked him. He urged me to promise that I would not preach on the following day, and because I would not, he went away in an ill humour, and said, I must take the consequence. I returned to my study, but my heart was so shut up I could not pray, and was much troubled. I had appointed the people to come at six o'clock in the morning. In the course of my daily reading, I read the 9th and 10th chapters of Exodus, in which I thought there were many passages very suitable to my case. I then sought God about that day, and he so touched my heart that I thought I had a token for good. About six o'clock several persons came, and, after family duty, I began in my meeting-place. The people came in apace, and O! what a frame was my heart in while engaged in prayer, especially at the thought of my danger, man's anger, and the fear of God's taking away our liberty. God helped exceedingly, and the people were much affected. I began my sermon on Heb. iii. 9, but I had not preached above half an hour when an alarm was given that the constable was coming. I dismissed the people, and they withdrew in a fright; but nobody came till above two hours afterwards. They had agreed to come at ten o'clock, but J. O. understanding that we had a meeting early that morning, had hastened the constable. The cause of their delay was, they were coming without the churchwarden and had to send for him. In the

mean time, I and several of my people went to Coley chapel, so that when the constable came to my house and enquired if I was preaching, my servant answered, no, I was gone to chapel. Mr. O. would scarcely believe her, though my wife told him the same. He came to the chapel and saw me there. I came home to dinner, and immediately after, preached my sermon to a full assembly. After service the churchwarden, constable, and two men came. I was within, and they showed me their warrants to search for conventicles and plotters. When they were gone I went to chapel again, and heard Mr. Ellison preach a very profitable discourse on Matt. xi. 28. After my return, I repeated my sermon at home to my neighbours. Thus God graciously terminated this difficult matter. Blessed be the name of God."

"July 21st, 1683, I went to preach at Morley. The people there encouraged me to go, but I had serious apprehensions of danger. I prayed to God for his guidance and protection, and he cleared my way. I was something more than ordinarily carried out in prayer on that behalf. I lodged at J. C's, who not being certain of my coming had given no notice. However they sent about to inform the people, and we appointed to begin at five o'clock in the morning. I rose before four; preached in a barn to about five hundred hearers. I was comfortably assisted, and had no disturbance; we continued from about five till near ten. In the afternoon having prayed, I repeated my sermon. God helped next day in a solemn meeting for prayer at T. D's; and at my house on the Wednesday. Ebenezer. Blessed be God."

"July 31st. We designed a journey into Lancashire, but were much perplexed about it; I had engaged to preach at Cockey chapel, and had private business to

attend in that neighbourhood. There were great rumours of warrants against me at home, and I was prevented from preaching in my own place. On the other hand, if I went abroad it was given out that I went to carry on the plot, or that I fled for fear of being apprehended as a plotter. What to do in this case I knew not; so I fled to my old refuge, and committed myself into the hands of God and set forwards; but avoided going through market towns as much as possible, that I might not give provocation. When I arrived, I found Cockey chapel shut against me; so I performed my services privately in several places. God assisted and protected me, and made it a comfortable journey. One observable circumstance I must set down: Aug. 14th. We went to Darcey Lever; multitudes of people came. I was helped in prayer and preaching near an hour, when there came T. H's son from Bolton, and acquainted us with the design of some to disperse us. I ceased, some went away, others hovered about. I went into a house, sent scouts to watch and give notice, then went to work again and preached out my sermon. No officer came, yet we did hear it was a reality, but understanding we had broken up, they came not. The contrivers were three or four preachers, and some others. Father, forgive them."

Nov. 27th. Mr. Heywood repeated his visit to the people near Cross-stone chapel, and though he met with very homely fare, he was abundantly satisfied with his journey. "I preached," says he, "on Jer. xiii. 17. God sent abundance of people, though it was in the night, and very dark and slippery. It did me good to see such willingness, and my heart was much affected with the sad condition of poor ignorant souls in the want of powerful preaching. I struggled with them in my Lord's name three hours that night, till I was

tired and very hoarse. The inn-keeper there, took me and my companion to his house, lodged us kindly, and would take nothing for ourselves or horses. We were much affected, and I prayed with the family at parting. Who can tell what good may be done? That shall be my pay. It pleaseth me that I had not one penny from them all, but gave the poor man a shilling at whose house I preached; nor had I a farthing at Warley the night after, where also I preached; nor have I had any collections at home the two last quarters, as formerly, God thinking good to exercise my faith by preventing them. O my soul, what sayest thou to these dispensations? Dost thou make all kindly welcome? Not a hair falls from my head, nor a sparrow to the ground without a divine providence. Dost thou willingly deny thyself in worldly things, so that thou mayest do thy Master some service? Thy dear Lord seems to put thee to it, whether thou wilt be and act according to thy former vows and solemn covenants, that if the Lord will but make use of thee thou dost not care what fare thou hast, or whether thou hast any reward from men. Thou hast often breathed out such like workings of heart as these, and now God will try thee whether thou art in good earnest or not. O my soul, what dost thou say? Art thou freely content to want as well as to abound? Hast thou learned Paul's lesson? Lay thy hand upon thy heart—the heart-searching God knows whether thou hast done these things willingly or grudgingly. Dost thou repent that thou didst not conform when such fair offers were made thee at St. Martin's, in York, many years ago, when thou wast under violent prosecutions in the spiritual court? Dost thou not envy them that live in pomp and prosperity, and wish thyself in their condition? My soul shall answer, and upon good advise-

ment write it down this third day of December 1683, above twenty-one years after our doleful ejection from public stations: That I am so well satisfied in my refusing subscription and conformity to the terms enjoined by law for the exercise of my public ministry, that, notwithstanding all the taunts, rebukes, and affronts I have had from men; the weary travels for many thousand miles; the hazardous meetings, plunderings, and imprisonments; the banishment from my own house, coming home with fear in the night, &c. (which are the least part of my affliction, for banishing from my people and stopping my mouth have occasioned many sad temptations and discouragements, lest God should be angry with me, lay me aside and make no use of me;) notwithstanding all this, I am so fully satisfied in my conscience that my nonconformity as a minister, is the way of God, and I have so much peace in my spirit that what I do in the main is according to God's word, that if I knew of all these troubles before-hand, and were to begin again, I would persist in this course to my dying day, and, if God call me to it, would seal it with my blood: for to me, (I decide not for others,) full conformity would be sinful, and we must resist unto blood, striving against sin."

Mr. H. had many journeys about this time, in which both his faith and zeal were tried; but the providence and grace of God were his joy and support. March 13th, 1684, he went to preach in Kirkburton parish, though the weather was exceedingly unfavourable. "I set out," he says, "but found the way very dangerous, for it snow-balled my horse's feet. I resolved to call at Mr. Thorp's, Hopton-hall; but going towards the house, my horse fell, and I lay I know not how. The same day, I had a more wonderful deliverance, for going in the snow from Mr. Lockwood's,

of Blakehouse, towards J. Armitage's, having no track, I missed my way, and got entangled in a wood among bogs and dangerous precipices. I toiled hard, sometimes riding, and sometimes walking on foot till I was out of breath. It was moonlight, and at last I got to J. A's, where I was to preach. When I told him where I had been, he was much astonished, and said I did not know the hazard to which I had been exposed, for the place is so dangerous, it is called Sinking-hill, by the inhabitants. I preached to about forty persons, on Matt. vi. 33, and went about half-a-mile near twelve o'clock to lodge. The people gave me three shillings and sixpence for my labours. I was well content and bless God. Now, O my soul, what improvement dost thou make of these various providences? Our adversaries envy us all such pains, and toil, and hazard for our dear Lord and the good of sinners. They enjoy their rich livings, fair parsonages, and fruitful glebes; they step out of their houses into their churches, read their easy service, say their eloquent orations, eat the fat and drink the sweet; are companions with gentlemen and peers of the realm; have their thousands a year, make laws for us, and yet think much at our having a poor livelihood, and a little honest work, weeping and wrestling with God and sinners to do good. They call us schismatics, and seditious; they exasperate magistrates against us, punish, banish, and imprison us; confiscate our goods, excommunicate and censure us, and think and say we are not worthy to live, while we live peaceably, pray for them, and dare challenge them if ever they found fault in us save in the matters of our God. O Lord! judge between them and us, and plead the cause of thy servants: let the Lord be with the good. In the mean time, O my soul, thou hast great reason to admire the

gracious providences of God, in this instance especially. If I had been hurt, I might have perished before I had been found, and it would have been a grief to my friends, and a laughing-stock to my enemies; but my God had mercy on me, and sent his angels to bear me up in their hands: let God have the glory. May but sinners be gained to him, I have the reward of all my travels. I have satisfaction in the review of my labours in the gospel, and think it will afford me more comfort in after-times than all our churchmen's worldly ease, honour, revenues, and grandeur. Let them take these, since they are *their* choice; I have *my* choice, and though it be grievous to the flesh, yet the satisfaction I have in my own conscience abundantly countervails it. Methinks our condition is something like the apostle's. 1 Cor. iv. 10—13. xvi. 9. 2 Cor. iv. 8—12. vi. 3—10. xi. 23—33.

In 1684, various means were adopted to increase the persecution against the Nonconformists. At Exeter, an order was made by the justices at the quarter sessions against dissenting ministers, offering a reward of forty shillings to any person for apprehending one of them; and the bishop required the order to be read by all the clergy the next Lord's day after it should be tendered to them. This was probably in consequence of the king's having issued his commands to the justices and others, "to use their utmost endeavours to suppress all conventicles and meetings on pretence of religious worship, it being his express pleasure that the laws be effectually put in execution against them, both in city and country." Bishop Burnet, whose impartiality as an historian deserves commendation, speaking of the persecution of the Dissenters in this year, says, "they were not only proceeded against for going to conventicles, so their meetings for the worship of God were

called, but for not going to church, and for not receiving the sacrament. The laws made against papists, with relation to those particulars, being now applied to them. Many were excommunicated and ruined by these prosecutions."* So highly did the persecution

* The following account may not be considered out of place here, especially as in the West Riding of Yorkshire, the circumstances are, by an interchange of names, commonly related of Mr. Heywood:—"Mr. Peter Ince, ejected from Dunhead in Wiltshire, was a good scholar, well skilled in the languages, particularly in the Hebrew, and an excellent practical preacher. He had an admirable gift in prayer, and on public occasions, would pour forth his soul with such spirituality, variety, fluency, and affection, that he was called, Praying Ince. After being silenced he lived with Mr. Grove, that ornament of his country for learning, piety, and public spiritedness. The subsequent relation was communicated by the Rev. Josiah Tompson, who received it from an intimate friend of Mr. Bates, the late aged minister of Warminster, as he he had often heard it from Mr. Bates himself, who had spent much time and labour in collecting accounts of the most remarkable providences relating to the church, but who unhappily and unaccountably, burnt them a little before his death.

"Not long after the year 1662, Mr. Grove, a gentleman of great opulence, whose seat was near Birdbush, upon his wife's lying dangerously ill, sent to the minister to pray with her. When the messenger came, he was just going out with the hounds, and sent word he would come when the hunt was over. Mr. Grove expressing much resentment against the minister, for chusing rather to follow his diversions than attend one of his flock in such circumstances, one of the servants took the liberty to say, 'Sir, our shepherd, if you will send for him, can pray very well; we have often heard him at prayer in the field.' Upon this he was immediately sent for; and Mr. Grove asking him whether he ever did or could pray, the shepherd fixing his eyes upon him with peculiar seriousness in his countenance, replied, 'God forbid, Sir, I should live one day without prayer.' He was then desired to pray with the sick lady; which he did so pertinently to her case, with such fluency and fervency of devotion, as greatly to astonish the husband, and all the family who were present. When they arose from their knees, the gentleman addressed him to this effect: 'Your language and manner discover you to be a very

against them prevail at this time, that the prisons were crowded with them and many died in confinement. Mr. Heywood could not be expected to escape apprehension at such a time, unless he had abated in zeal and activity. It was in this year he was guilty of that supposed crime for which he suffered nearly twelve months' imprisonment in York Castle. The following is the account he has left of this memorable event:—

"Aug. 17th. There came several bailiffs and assistants to my house, about six o'clock in the morning, and indeed were upon us before we were aware, for they were tying their horses at W. Clay's gate, when a lad came running to give us notice; and though we did disperse before they got into the room, yet they saw the people about the house in the lane and croft. They slipped in at the back door as people went out, and found me and made me promise to go before Justice Horton the day after, who bound me over to the sessions at Wakefield, where I was to appear, Oct. 10th, 1684." On the day appointed he made his appearance, and was rather severely handled, but permitted to enter his traverse. His pious friends, most of whom had been benefitted by his labours, were much concerned for his safety and comfort. "There were," he observes, "great thoughts of heart on my account,

different person from what your appearance indicates. I conjure you to inform me who and what you are, and what were your views and situation in life before you came into my service.' Upon which he told him, that he was one of the ministers who had been lately ejected from the church, and that having nothing of his own left, he was content for a livelihood to submit to the honest and peaceful employment of tending sheep. On hearing this, Mr. Grove said to him, 'Then you shall be my shepherd,' and immediately erected a meeting-house on his own estate, in which Mr. Ince gathered a congregation of Dissenters, which continues to subsist to this day."—*Nonconformist's Memorial vol. iii, page* 362—364.

and these sad thoughts stirred up strong cries and prayers both by us, and in many places for us. I wondered to see how God's people were concerned for such a poor creature as I. My own heart was much drawn out, not so much for deliverance, as that the affair might be so managed as would be most for the credit of the gospel and the honour of God. My heart was enlarged in secret, and when engaged with others on this account, pleading Matt. x. 18—20. Blessed be God, he hath bowed his ear to hear in many respects. 1. I have had considerable liberty in the interim both at home and abroad, and no one has attempted to surprise or make us forfeit our bonds. 2. God hath raised up several friends to speak for me and write to the justices, particularly Esquire Harris, whom I know not, who represented me as loyal and a sufferer for his majesty; it is thought this had great influence. 3. God sent Sir John Kay, a man of great mildness and moderation to be the chief speaker that day, and to moderate the bench, so that they behaved respectfully and did not give me angry words. 4. When the clerk offered to produce an indictment against me for a circumstance that took place fourteen years ago, Mr. Pebles said, we will not look so far back. 5. When one person began to give a relation of his coming to my house, &c. Sir John Kay silenced him. 6. The justices never mentioned my last book,* which Mr. Horton had produced, and would put me to vindicate in open court. 7. They took no notice of the Five-mile Act, which I am daily transgressing when at home, and which was what I most feared. 8. They permitted me to enter my traverse and accepted my bondsmen that were in the court. 9. They did not deal rigidly with my friends, only they fined two of

* Israel's Lamentation.

them twenty shillings apiece, and when they pleaded poverty, they required their promise to attend no more at such meetings, and upon their refusal cast them into prison that night, and set them at liberty in the morning. As for W. Clay, a blind man, for whom we were most concerned, he came off the best, for though he had entered his traverse and gone out of court, they sent for him again, fined him ten shillings and dismissed him. 10. I am much satisfied that the bailiffs are to have nothing for their pains, which might have encouraged them to new attempts, for upon the jury's finding it a *riot*, they will not have any thing at the sessions when we traverse. Ebenezer."

It was now highly necessary Mr. Heywood should conduct himself with more than common prudence, lest he should prejudice his cause, and be found forfeiting his engagement to keep the peace, by which was meant that he should not preach. Souls were perishing around him for lack of spiritual knowledge, and yet he was afraid to speak to them "that they might be saved." The state of his mind under these circumstances, he thus describes: "I am in the heaviest condition as to my liberty of doing God service and good to souls, that ever I was in all my life. Men have broken in upon us, scattered our meeting, and indicted me for a riot. I am bound in £100. traverse and to be of good behaviour. My adversaries are watching me narrowly to find me forfeiting my bond. They have caught W. N,* charged him to be witness

* This person was a hearer of Mr. Heywood's, and became his companion in tribulation: refusing to give evidence against him, he was committed to York castle, where he remained till the March assizes. Mr. H. was much concerned for this poor man, and anxious for his release, but did not know what steps were the most proper to be taken to accomplish his wishes. "Behold,"

against me, are laying wait for others, and few dare own me. Providences seem to make against me, and that which is the heaviest burden of all is, it is the occasion of some difference between my wife and myself; for she being naturally timorous, when we are above the number of four she is perplexed exceedingly, though it be not purposely but providentially. Truly my zeal for God's glory and love to souls, on the one side—and endeared love to my wife, fears of being censured for rashness and indiscretion by prudent persons, and making myself a prey to knaves, on the other side—do so rack and torture my spirit that it almost makes me weary of my life. I know not what to do, and am often forced to go contrary to my wife's mind. Sometimes God helps me in prayer to roll myself on him, and then I am easy; but, O! how often I am at a loss. O my soul, this is a very great strait that Providence has brought thee into! The hand of the Lord is gone out against me: 'Thou, O Lord, hast proved me,' &c. Ps. lxvi. 10—12. O that I could say, 'Thou hast brought out into a wealthy (or spacious) place.' How long shall thy church be thus sadly confined? How long wilt thou hide thy face from me? How long shall human inventions keep out divine ordinances? How long shall the hand of the magistrate be stretched out against thy poor ministers? How long shall the wicked be encouraged in plotting and informing against thy poor servants for worshipping thee? O my dear Lord, dost thou approve the malicious and covetous practices of impious men? Wherefore lookest thou not upon them that

says he, "God set him at liberty by a way of his own. At the latter end of the assizes, when the calendar was read over in court and they came to his name, Mr. Butler said, My lord, this is a poor man, if it please your lordship, let his name be blotted out. He consented. It was a great mercy. Blessed be God."

deal treacherously, and holdest thy peace when the wicked devoureth the man that is more righteous than he? Lord, hast thou no respect unto thy servants? Would not thy ministers gladly preach thy word, and travail on account of poor sinners? Do not our people long to hear their former pastors? Doth it not go to the heart of this poor worm to hear the people say, 'When shall we come and hear you?' They are desirous to come by day or by night; but prudence or danger forbids us to receive them. 'Mine eyes do fail with tears, my bowels are troubled, my liver is poured on the earth, for the destruction of the daughter of my people; because the children and the sucklings swoon in the streets of the city: they say to their mothers, where is corn and wine?' Our hearts ache, to consider the perishing condition of thousands of precious souls, and the pining state of gracious saints that are forced to live upon old store. 'The harvest truly is plenteous and the labourers are few.' O thou Lord of the harvest, thrust in labourers whom men have thrust out these twenty-two years. Lord, take away these troublous days, or take us away from them, if thou hast no more work for us to do in this world. Hide us in the grave until thy wrath be past, or renew our days as of old."

Jan. 16th, 1685, Mr. Heywood again appeared at Wakefield, and was indicted for having a riotous assembly in his house, because he had preached the gospel of peace to above four grown persons. Strange as the nature of the indictment appears, it is still more astonishing that a British jury should find him guilty. The sentence of the court was, that he should be fined in the sum of £50. and procure two sureties for his future good behaviour; and because he could not pay the fine, and would not promise to desist from preach-

ing, he was committed prisoner to York Castle. A petition was drawn up and presented to the court in mitigation of the fine, but such was the severity of the justices, they resolved the whole should be paid. In the midst of this afflictive dispensation he observed much mercy, which he thus records with lively gratitude of heart: "Though my dear Lord did not think fit to answer the multiplied and importunate prayers of his servants, for my deliverance out of trouble or the prevention of my imprisonment, yet God hath heard prayers in mercifully ordering affairs for me when in trouble. 1. The justices were not rude, and Mr. White said he had heard a better character of me, than of any of my way. 2. The bailiffs gave liberty to my friends to come and see me, though I found it was for their own ends. 3. All my friends were abundantly satisfied of the justice of my cause, even adversaries were convinced I was hardly dealt with. 4. I was clear and comfortable in my conscience, and the £50. fine was not so grievous to me as the bond for good behaviour, as they explain it. 5. Both friends and foes pitied my case. 6. My wife was as cheerful as could be expected, and expressed her willingness that I should go to prison, rather than enter into such bonds. 7. My friends relieved me, so that though I was put to extraordinary expenses the week I was a prisoner at Wakefield, yet I had as much money when I left as when I entered the town. 8. God moved the heart of the York jailor to trust my son John to bring me to York, so that we had many sweet opportunities of prayer together, and freedom of conversation with our friends at Leeds and York, which was a great comfort to me. 9. Mr. Butler the jailor consulted my convenience, and turned a conformist minister out of his chamber that I might have a room to myself; and I have all the conveniences I can

desire, as if in a friend's house. 10. I have spiritual privileges, opportunities of communion with God, liberty of studying and writing, the delightful company of Mr. Whitaker * and his wife, who are in the next

* "Mr. Thomas Whitaker was of a very ancient family in Lancashire. In 1676, he became the minister of a large congregation of Nonconformists in Call Lane, Leeds, and had a full share of the hardships and persecutions of the times; yet he was so respected by the mayor and aldermen, that they often absented themselves when they had reason to expect the informers. At length, one Kirshaw lodged an information against him, and he was committed to the jail, in York, January, 1684. This trial was aggravated by the death of his wife while he was in prison. After his liberation, he renewed and pursued his ministry in peace, and was respected by all till his death, Nov. 19th, 1710, in the 34th year of his pastoral connexion at Leeds. He left two sons; William, afterwards a physician in London, and Thomas, who succeeded him. Mr. Thomas Whitaker, jun. purchased the estate of Kirshaw, the informer against his father, and actually relieved his posterity, greatly reduced by the vices of their parent."—*Toulmin's Historical View of the State of the Protestant Dissenters. Appendix, p.* 575, 576. Mr. Whitaker was born at Healy, near Burnley, in 1651. He received the rudiments of learning from his worthy father, and in various schools at Burnley, Blackburn, and Manchester. He became a student of Mr. Frankland's, at Rathmel, and finished his studies at Edinburgh, where he took his degree of M.A. Mr. Thomas Jollie he venerated and loved as his spiritual father and counsellor. His views of church government were congregational, and "his way of understanding the great doctrines of election, redemption, justification, conversion, and perseverance, was agreeably to the churches of England, Scotland, and Geneva; yet he thought it both a slavery upon ministers, and a damp to their success, when they suited their style rather to the jingle of a party than to the nature of their subject."† He was unwilling to baptize any child, if one of the parents was not a stated member of some church, considering it an irregularity for a person to own the covenant for his infant, who had neglected the proper means of doing it for himself. When Mr. W. took leave of his sons on his dying bed, after charging them to serve the Lord God of their father, he left them to the disposal of Provi-

† Bradbury's Preface to Whitaker's Sermons.

chamber, and many worthy servants of God come out of the city to pray and discourse with me. Blessed be God."

During the former part of Mr. Heywood's confinement in York castle, he was much annoyed by the dissolute and riotous behaviour of a papist confined for debt in a neighbouring apartment; but after a short time he was removed. Considering all circumstances, Mr. H. was as comfortable as could be expected; his time was much occupied in the improvement of his mind by study, or in the promotion of the spiritual welfare of others, as he had opportunity. The manner in which he usually spent the day, when not disturbed by company, was this: "After our rising, we kneeled down and I went to prayer with my wife.—She in her closet, and I in the chamber, went to secret prayer alone.—Then I read a chapter in the Greek Testament while I took a pipe.—Then a chapter in the Old Testament with Poole's Annotations.—Then wrote a little here, (diary) or elsewhere.—At ten o'clock, I read a chapter and went to prayer with my wife as family prayer.—Then wrote in some book or treatise I was composing till dinner.—After dinner, Mr. Whitaker and I read in turn for an hour in Fox's Acts and Monuments of Martyrs, Latin edition. Then went to my chamber; if my wife were absent, I spent an hour in secret prayer, and God helped usually.—After supper, we read in the book of Martyrs, studied, went to prayer, read in Baxter's paraphrase on the New Testament." Besides

dence in the choice of their calling, but with this character of the ministry: "that though it had cost him so dear, yet he had served a good Master, and was never ashamed nor weary of his work." See "Memoriæ Sacrum," by Timothy Jollie, and Preface, by Thomas Bradbury, to the Sermons, published after his death. His funeral sermon was preached by Thomas Dickenson, of Northowram, from 2 Sam. iii. 38. Mr. Thomas Bradbury also preached on the same occasion, from Acts xx. 32.

the occasional visits of friends from the country, many of Mr. H.'s acquaintances in the city were permitted to visit him, particularly on the Lord's day. Mr. Whitaker and he usually preached alternately in each other's room, when some of the prisoners and the jailor's wife often composed a part of the congregation. He might have adopted the langnage of the apostle Paul when writing to the Philippians: "The things which happened unto me, have fallen out rather unto the furtherance of the gospel."

After an expensive confinement during nearly twelve months, and after many fruitless attempts had been made to obtain his release, a friend prevailed with the newly-appointed sheriff to grant his liberty, provided the fine was paid at the assizes. This was granted, and Mr. H. took his leave of York castle, Dec. 19th, 1685. "At last," he says, "God hath graciously answered the incessant prayers of his church for my deliverance out of prison. The particular mercies in my enlargement were many, which I have great reason to review. 1. It came after long expectation and frequent disappointments, so that our hopes were almost converted into despair; when God turned back my captivity, I was like one that dreamed. 2. The person whom God employed to obtain it had sometimes failed me, and I had reason to fear he had forgotten me; but when the time came, he set himself resolutely about it. He went to the high sheriff and found him at home. He was treated with kindness and his request granted, though the sheriff is a high man, and rebuked Mr. G. at the assizes for interceding for such a one as I was. 3. It was much wondered at, that Mr. Ash the under-sheriff, who is now jailor also, did not dissuade the high sheriff from it, being so much against his profit, which is the main thing such men

look at. 4. It was the more remarkable that the high sheriff should consent, as it was quite optional and indeed not strictly legal; but such men's oversights are easily overlooked. 5. It is a strange thing he did not send for me and bind me over to good behaviour, or require me to promise not to keep conventicles. 6. The day after I was set at liberty, I received a letter from London, concerning the improbability of my friends there getting my fine compounded. 7. I am in a sort a prisoner yet, till my fine is paid, and under the sheriff's protection, yet liberty is sweet and my own house comfortable. Thus my dear Lord keeps us still in dependance upon him, exercising our faith and prayers; for if we had all our mercies at once, we should be in danger of taking our leave of God: a waiting posture is needful, and we never have so much of God but we need more of him while here below. 8. The bond that was procured was only for the payment of the fine at the assizes. 9. My great care and solicitude during my imprisonment were for my people, that their souls might be provided for. God took care of them, and sent persons to administer ordinances, so that I found them in a good and hopeful situation for soul's affairs on my return. Blessed be God."

His return home excited the abundant thanksgivings of many, and was the cause of much praise from himself. He set apart two days for thanksgiving and prayer, and renewing his engagements to serve the Lord. On the latter of these occasions he thus writes: "God carried me to York, that there he might show great and marvellous things to my soul which I knew not; he quickened me, instructed and comforted me more than ever before. He gave my body health beyond expectation, increased my credit amongst his people, and added to my estate considerably by tripling

my former income: thus what men devised for my hurt, hath turned to my advantage; yea, I now perceive my sufferings have tended to the furtherance of the gospel. Let God have the glory."

At the spring assizes he appeared at York, but the jailor said he could not legally receive him; he therefore returned home, convinced that nothing was now expected but the payment of his fine, which he hoped would be mitigated. At this time there was an act of grace, or gaol delivery, in which it was expected his case would have been included; but being a fine on execution it was not. At the summer assizes some advised him to petition the judges, but his friend who had obtained his release attended with him, and offered the under sheriff £30; which he agreed to accept, and returned the bond for £50. "Thus," he observes, "we are quit of this business: blessed be God. All my intelligent friends look on it as a good termination."

In the interval between Mr. Heywood's release and the payment of his fine, he was assiduously employed in his Master's service, in which he enjoyed much of the divine presence. "March 24th, 1686. That very day twenty years," he says, "on which the banishing act took place, and when I left home with a sad heart, despairing of ever settling again at Coley, on that very day the Lord brought a considerable number of my people together under my roof, when God helped me in praying and preaching, and Mr. Dawson in prayer. We also celebrated that delightful ordinance, the Lord's supper, and had something of the Lord's presence. Who would have thought of such a thing after a year's intermission! In this God hath exceeded our hopes, and counteracted our fears. Blessed, for ever blessed be his holy name! From this time it shall be said, 'What hath God wrought! How excellent is thy name

in all the earth!' I take this mercy as a pledge of more."

He embraced an early opportunity of visiting his native place, and on his return says: "I rode many miles, lodged at nine or ten places, and preached thirteen times. I had much mutual comfort with my relations, it being the first time I had seen them since my imprisonment. They were glad of my company, and God graciously preserved me. One passage I must not forget in this journey: I preached at my cousin J. L's, on the nature of conversion, from Matt. xviii. 3, and A. Smith of Bolton spoke to me afterwards, and said it was a gracious providence that she should hear me again on that text, for by a sermon I had preached from it many years ago, God had wrought on her heart; she is an excellent Christian. Let God have the glory. Another remarkable thing was, that that morning one Davis of Bolton, a bad man, was seen coming towards the place where I had been preaching but was too late; the people met him as they went back. Howbeit, he threatens to inform against them unless they give him money."

When Mr. Whitaker, who had been detained a prisoner in York Castle, longer than Mr. Heywood, had obtained his release, he came to visit his fellow prisoner, and unite in mutual praises to God for their deliverance. "Aug. 9th, 1686," Mr. H. say, "my fellow prisoner, Mr. Whitaker came to my house, and remained with me a week, which God helped us to improve to his glory and his people's good. On Tuesday he preached at Warley to a great number. Wednesday, he and I had exercises in my house. In the evening he preached at T. Priestley's, and next morning at W. Naylor's. After that we kept a day of prayer and praise, when I preached: it was a good day. Friday,

I appointed as a day of thankfulness, though God took away Mr. Whitaker's wife while he was a prisoner. Blessed, blessed be God, who hath not only set us at liberty, but given us the liberty of ordinances without threats or disturbances." Hence it appears, that the sufferings of those servants of God for conscience' sake had not diminished, but rather increased their zeal for the divine glory. The hope of publicly serving the cause of their divine Master was at first very faint; but he, who is Governor among the nations, was secretly preparing the means for the establishment of religious liberty in this land. Their deliverance from prison was but a short time antecedent to those events which introduced the *glorious revolution*, and was a presage of that release from open persecution which Dissenters have since enjoyed.

PART VII.

Death of Charles II. and Accession of James II.—Declaration for Liberty of Worship—Commencement of the Dissenting Interest at Halifax—Erection of the Chapel at Northowram—The Revolution—Mr. Heywood's Annual Covenant—His Sickness—The Congregations at Alverthorp and Pontefract—Instances of Mr. Heywood's Usefulness—His Journey to York—Renewed Covenants—Last Visits to Lancashire and York—Invitations to London and Manchester—Reflections on the Year 1698—Visit of Mr. Timothy Jollie—Sickness of his Wife and Son John—Return of his Baptismal Day—Last Year of Mr. Heywood's Life.

DURING the imprisonment of Mr. Heywood in York, Charles II. died and was succeeded by his brother James. The reign of Charles was a memorable period to the Nonconformists. His character has been differently described by various writers, but the history of his actions shows us what he really was. Bishop Burnett justly remarks: "No part of his character looked meaner or more wicked, than that he, all the while that he professed to be of the church of England and to have zeal and affection for it, was yet secretly reconciled to the church of Rome; thus mocking God, and deceiving the world by so gross a prevarication. His not having the honesty or courage to own this at last, his not showing any sign of remorse for his ill-spent life, or any tenderness, either for his subjects in general, or for the queen and his servants, and his recommending only his mistresses to his brother's care, would have been a strange conclusion to the life of any other, but was well enough suited to all the

parts of his." James, who was an acknowledged papist, ascended the throne of England, Feb. 6th, 1685. It was universally known that the former sovereign was guided by popish counsels, and every body expected the new monarch would be under the same guidance. Charles had scourged the dissenters with whips, and James, it was supposed, would chastise them with scorpions. He had an appropriate instrument in the merciless Jeffries, who filled the office of Lord Chief Justice. Popery made rapid progress on the accession of James II, and threatened to overspread the nation. Fears among the members of the established church, as well as the Dissenters, were awakened, and those who a little before had been persecutors of their brethren for conscience' sake, now courted the friendship of those whom they had formerly despised. But when the storm appeared to be gathering thick, which threatened the Nonconformists with almost total extinction, they were suddenly surprised with the prospect of religious liberty. The mercenary judges had given it as their opinion, that the laws of England were the king's laws, that it was a branch of his prerogative to dispense with all penal laws at particular times, and that he was the sole judge of those occasions.

The king acquainted his council that he had determined to send forth a declaration for general liberty of conscience to all persons of every persuasion, and that he had given orders to the attorney and solicitor general, not to permit any process to issue in his majesty's name against Dissenters. April 10th, 1687, Mr. Heywood received a copy of the king's declaration, on which he observes: "Many prayers have been put up for the liberty of God's ministers to preach the gospel, and we have been under a long restraint for twenty-four years; though sometimes we have enjoyed a

little more liberty in private than at other times. Our circumstances of late have been very sad, and we expected on the death of Charles II. to be either put to death or banished; but God hath strangely influenced the heart of king James to favour us and proclaim liberty to all prisoners, and to take off the fines imposed for private meetings. A copy has come to my hands, which is as follows:

'The king was pleased this day, March 18th, 1687, in council to declare, he thought fit for divers weighty considerations, that the parliament should be prorogued from the 28th of April to the 22nd of Nov. next; and his Majesty did also acquaint the council, that he had resolved in the mean time to issue out a declaration for general liberty of conscience to all persons of what persuasion soever, which he was moved to by having observed that, though a uniformity in religious worship had been endeavoured to be established within this kingdom, in the successive reigns of four of his Majesty's predecessors, assisted by their respective parliaments, yet it hath altogether proved ineffectual: that the restraint upon the consciences of the Dissenters thereunto had been very prejudicial to this nation, as was sadly experienced by the horrid rebellion in the time of his majesty's royal father: that the laws made against Dissenters, in all the foregoing reigns, and especially in the time of the late king, had rather increased than lessened the number of them: and that nothing can more conduce to the peace and quiet of this kingdom, and the increase of the number as well as of the trade of his subjects, (wherein the greatness of a prince doth more consist than in the extent of his territories,) than an entire liberty of conscience; it having always been his majesty's opinion, as most suitable to the principles of christianity, that

no man should be persecuted for conscience, which his majesty thinks is not to be forced, and that it can never be the true interest of a king of England to endeavour it. And his majesty was also pleased to direct his attorney and solicitor general, not to permit any process to issue in his majesty's name against any dissenter whatsoever,' &c.

"This design creates displeasure in many of the church of England, and in some Dissenters, and jealousy in most, who suspect some other design therein. However it may prove, it becomes us thankfully to accept this immunity, to improve opportunities of service, give God the glory of all, and hope and pray that the churches of God may make it conducive towards the propagation of the gospel and the conversion of sinners. Amen. According to this promise, a declaration came forth, April 4th, entitled his Majesty's gracious declaration for liberty of conscience, in which he gives liberty to all his loving subjects to meet and serve God after their own way and manner, in private houses, or places hired or built for that purpose. This came to my hand April 10th, and I perceive all ministers accordingly do preach publicly. Blessed be God. Ebenezer. On that day I preached in my own house, and many flocked thither, among whom was the youngest son of my dear friend J. Priestley, and it pleased God to touch his conscience from what I said on Nahum i. 15. Blessed be God for these first fruits of a hoped-for harvest. Lord, go on and perfect that which thou hast wrought for us."

The king promised to get this declaration established by law, and appointed commissioners to go into the several counties, and ascertain what money or goods had been levied on the Nonconformists by prosecutions for recusancy, and not paid into the Exchequer. The

information he received respecting the oppressions of Dissenters afforded him pleasure, for by relieving them he expected their attachment, and they now had a favourable opportunity of being revenged on their former opponents; but having the cause of Protestantism at heart, and hoping to experience greater moderation for the future, they generously passed all by. Every body knew the king had no desire to favour the Nonconformists by these measures, but that his real design was to encourage popery; yet when it is recollected with what rigour they had been treated nearly twenty-five years, it cannot surprise us that they embraced this opportunity with joy, and in some instances with thankfulness.

Many of Mr. Heywood's friends and hearers resided in Halifax, and when James's declaration for liberty of conscience was published, they rented a large room in, or near, the town for their greater convenience, and requested his labours there one part of the Lord's day, or every alternate sabbath; and he may be considered as the founder of the dissenting interest in that town. But this division of service, though calculated to promote the furtherance of the gospel, did not give satisfaction to the whole of his congregation. "I commenced preaching at Halifax-bank-top," he says, "July 3rd, 1687, and had a great attendance of people. But my friends at Coley were much discouraged at my leaving them in the afternoon, though I advised with them beforehand, and obtained the consent of most for that day, but they were not willing that I should go every Lord's day afternoon. Murmurings arose, and some peevish words were uttered. I was much troubled, could not sleep, and aggravated things in my imagination. At last I committed the matter to God in prayer. My friends at Halifax were much troubled,

and a meeting was appointed, July 19th. God wonderfully melted our hearts in prayer for composing spirits, and liberty was given me till the meeting-place in Shelf should be got ready. I have made use of this liberty with great comfort and satisfaction till this day, Feb. 4th. Multitudes of people have flocked to the place and heard with attention, and some have been convinced by my preaching. Blessed be God."

Emboldened by the liberty enjoyed through the king's declaration, the Nonconformists began to erect convenient places for public worship. Hitherto Mr. Heywood's hearers had assembled in his own house, which was not sufficient to accommodate the numbers now disposed to attend his ministry. Various attempts were made to build a chapel, and several places were mentioned as suitable for that purpose, but none met with cordial approbation. At length Mr. H. undertook the work alone, and at his own expense, concerning which he thus writes: "When I was in prison, I had many solemn thoughts of heart, and made serious vows what I would do for God if ever I had my liberty; and in these God hath answered my desires. I have had far more opportunities of service since my release from imprisonment than before, and more assistance than formerly; blessed be God. One thing I vowed conditionally, that if God gave me property in the world, I would lay it out for him and the good of his church; and my Lord hath answered me in both. He hath given me something to expend, and a heart to lay out what I have. I have long had it on my mind to erect a school, but had no ground on which to build it. While I was contriving for the public good, behold an unexpected providence of God offered itself to my abundant satisfaction, it was this: my neighbourhood wanted a meeting-place upon the king's declaration. Three or

four places were proposed, but none of them were judged convenient, and my house was now too small. The people met, but could do nothing. W. Clay proposed to give ground to build on, and stones to build with. I urged this proposition on the people, and promised to give £10, towards the building, but they were not hearty about it. At last having some masons with me, Jan. 24th, 1688, I went over to J. Priestley and told him my design, and desired his consent and counsel; I said I would build it myself, and not ask them a penny towards it. The next day I set the men to get stones, but I met with many discouragements, which sent me often to a throne of grace. Scarce any would own me in the work, and some of my friends thought it a rash undertaking; but I had the more recourse to my God. The burden lay heavily on my wife, who was much discouraged at times. April 23rd, 1688, I laid the foundation stone* at the south-east corner. The workmen went on apace and it was ready for use July 8th, when I preached in it on Psal. cxxxii. 8. There was a vast multitude of people, more than could crowd into it, though it has three large wings. Blessed be God, that hath succeeded my poor endeavours, answered my prayers, and again given us a token for good." On the day when the new place was opened, several persons from Warley and elsewhere were admitted members of the church. The building cost Mr. H. about £60; and he received but little help from the people, except that W. Clay gave the land and stones, and different families erected pews

* It is related of him, that when he laid the first stone he kneeled down upon it, and spent a whole hour in giving thanks to God for the liberty now enjoyed and so long desired, and in praying for the success of present and future endeavours to promote the cause of Christ.

for their accommodation; but on a review of what God had enabled him to expend in building this sanctuary, he adds, "I do not repent it."

This freedom of worship enjoyed by the Nonconformists was very precarious, being dependent on the caprice of a monarch who had no love for them, nor the protestant cause; but the affairs of James were approaching a crisis attended with lasting benefits to this kingdom. He was carrying things with a high hand, and the wiser part of the nation foresaw the ruin of their religion and liberty, if he continued to reign. To the joyful surprise of multitudes, it began to be rumoured that the Prince of Orange was preparing to invade the land, to secure the Protestants, and to preserve the liberties of the people. "The affairs of the nation," says Mr. Heywood, "astonished every considerate person. King James had tried the church of England and the Dissenters, but could not bring either of them to consent to take off the penal laws and tests from the papists, that they might be legally admitted to places of authority; wherefore his popish council and Jesuits were put on trying new measures, and what could not be done by fraud must be effected by force. Soldiers were raised, and many Scotch and Irish Papists were brought into the kingdom, and drawn towards London. The guns on the tower were planted towards the city; treaties were made with the French king, to help with an army to subdue heretics; all faces gathered blackness, and a dreadful consternation seized the people. Popish officers were appointed in the army and navy, and lord-lieutenants, justices, and mayors were selected, who either were popishly inclined or were indifferent, but subject to the king's pleasure. Though the Dissenters had liberty, we knew it was not out of love to us, but

for another purpose. We had heard the king had said, he was forced to grant liberty for the present to those whom his soul abhorred. In the midst of these events, the king on the first of October, issued writs for choosing a parliament. The day of election came, and multitudes went to York to choose two knights, but were prevented from proceeding by the king's calling in the writs, because he had heard the Prince of Orange was coming against him. Nobody scarcely believed it, but in the end it proved true. The prayers of the Lord's people were now awakened to great solicitude, and earnest cries to heaven, seeing ourselves in the midst of dangers." James, who was a weak and superstitious prince, perceiving his cause daily losing ground, abdicated his throne, which was afterwards filled by William and Mary. Soon after their establishment on the throne, the renowned Toleration Act was passed, and the freedom of religious worship was secured to the Dissenters by law. Opportunities of public usefulness were now very numerous, and cheerfully embraced by Mr. Heywood. Like a wise husbandman, after a long and dreary winter, he rejoiced at the return of spring, and laboured to the utmost of his power, though near sixty years of age. In the review of this wonderful year, he mentions with gratitude, that though his horse had fallen nine times with him, yet by the goodness of God he had not been materially hurt, and that he had been supported under abundant labours.

Mr. Heywood was never able to ascertain his natal day, but having found the day of his baptism from the register at Bolton church, he usually observed its return with peculiar solemnity. On this day it was his custom to review the labours and remarkable providences of the past year, and to enter on new engage-

ments to be the Lord's. His covenant at the close of the year 1690, is as follows: "I was greatly helped in the forenoon to spend some time on my knees, and, prostrating myself before the Lord, to confess my sins, supplicate mercy for my soul, my relations, and congregation, for the nation and the church of my God, and to praise him for his mercy to me a poor worm; and now I will transcribe the thoughts of my heart, in the following meditations and resolutions. May God Almighty make me sincere, that I may neither dissemble in seeming better than I am, nor act inconsistently with my profession, by unsuitable practices in the year ensuing."

"O eternal Majesty! Sovereign Disposer of all persons and things on the face of the whole earth, who hast prolonged my life through my sixtieth year, and hast preserved the composedness of my mind, the health of my body, and liberty of serving thee: blessed be thy name. I have passed through the revolutions of another year, and will, by the assistance of divine grace, look a little both backwards and forwards, that my heart may be duly affected and my life suitably disposed."

"In *general*.—1. O my soul, in this lower world we reckon a succession of time by hours, days, months, and years, for this is suitable to our present state; but the endless duration of eternity knows not such schoolboy's arithmetic, it is all folded in the gross sum of το νὺν.* O that boundless ocean! How are my thoughts lost and senses confounded in the contemplation! The short measures of time we now use, will presently be insignificant terms. Lord help my heart to dwell on things future and invisible. Let me not look on things which are seen and temporal, but on

* An immortal Now.

things not seen, which are eternal. Nothing is worth mentioning but the things which concern eternity. 2. How swiftly doth time run on, hours, days, weeks, and years pass, like a swift river, never to return again. All things below are upon the wheel of change, nothing continues in a fixed state. Generations of men and women enter upon and pass off the stage of the world apace; the sun riseth and goeth down; the wind changes about continually; rivers run into the sea, and from thence vapours ascend and are emptied on the earth; yea, the stage itself must be taken down, and the world, upon which so many comedies and tragedies have been acted, shall wax old as a garment, and shall be changed into another form; but (I think) not annihilated. I expect no constancy in this inconstant world; it passeth away and the lust thereof, and therefore shall not be my centre: I will fix the anchor of my hope beyond the veil; the immutable God shall henceforth be my strength, treasure, refuge, and portion for ever. Farewell, transitory world; welcome, a city not made with hands, eternal in the heavens. 3. Life is short. Every day and year added to my life is so much taken from it; it is a passing shade, a weaver's shuttle, a flying eagle, a post, a watch in the night; we fly away. How soon have these sixty years of my life passed away, like a tale that is told, as a dream when one awakes. It is but a short time since I was an infant, then a school-boy, and now I am one of the older sort; anon I shall not be here, my place will know me no more, my soul must launch into the ocean of eternity, and my body be laid in the bed of dust. My life is not now to be reckoned by years, but by months, days, or hours, yea, it is as nothing before the Lord. Few and evil are the days of the years of my life; it is well

they are few, since they are so evil: Lord, suffer me not to build tabernacles here. 4. Comforts and crosses do also fly away apace. Day and night are the two worms that hourly gnaw the root of the tree of life, and the comforts thereof; yea, sorrows also are as waters that pass away. I will not be depressed with troubles, nor exalted with enjoyments, both are short-lived, and heaven or hell swallows up both. I will look through clouds and thick mists to a fair day beyond, and I will renounce those gleams that will end in dismal mists of eternal darkness."

"A little more *particularly*.—1. If I were as rich as Crœsus, as warlike as Alexander, and as great a sovereign as Nimrod, and would give all to retrieve the past year, it could not be. 'That was a foolish request of a lady, 'Call time again.' Alas! there is no lock by which to seize time when he is past; once gone, ever gone. Esau found no place of repentance, for if the door be shut, importunate cries cannot open it; there is no retrograde motion out of eternity into time; yesterday cannot be recalled; this morning cannot be fetched back again. A great person called out, 'all too late, all too late; a world of wealth for an inch of time.' O what would damned spirits give for a little time in this world! Lord, help me to improve opportunities, to redeem time, to work while it is day, and whatsoever my hand findeth to do, to do it with all my might. Alas! man knows not his time. 2. I will look back again and review the *mercies* I have enjoyed this last year. I may say, with David: 'Many, O Lord my God, are thy wonderful works which thou hast done, and thy thoughts which are to us-ward: they cannot be reckoned up in order unto thee: if I would declare and speak of them, they are more than can be num-

bered.' God's mercies to me have been new every morning, and renewed every moment, at home and abroad, on foot and on horseback, alone and in company, in preventing and privileging, in spiritual things and in temporal. O, how many sermons have I preached and heard! How many days and duties of prayer have I been employed in! What helps for my soul have I had! How many chapters have I read, and what influences of the Spirit and rebukes of conscience have I experienced! All these are talents; and what have I done with them? An account will be called for; and what reckoning can I make? If I cannot pass my account with myself, how shall I make it pass with the righteous Judge? Lord, help me to set my accounts straight, and where I am defective, help me to act faith in Christ's blood for pardon. 3. What *sins* have I been guilty of this past year? Indeed, I may say, with David: 'Innumerable evils have compassed me about;' they are more than the hairs on my head. How many duties have I omitted or negligently performed! How many vain thoughts have lodged within me; and what idle words have I uttered! How many sinful actions have I committed! 'If thou, Lord, shouldst mark iniquity, O Lord, who shall stand?' I am cast at the tribunal of justice; but I flee to the throne of grace. Are my sins repented of and pardoned? 4. What *good* have I done this last year, by tongue, pen, or property? Have I been faithful to God and souls? Has this been (annus pregnatus) a fruitful year? or hath it been (annus vacuus) a barren year? Has it been filled up by general and particular duties, as a Christian and a minister? May I not complain as Titus Vespasian, (Amici, diem perdidi) 'O my friends, I have lost a day?' Who is better for me? It is true, I have been much

employed, but have I been well employed? Lord, humble me. 5. What *deaths* have I heard of this year, and what funerals have I attended? Have not many been laid in the grave that were as likely to live as I, both old and young, rich and poor, stranger and relative, good and bad? Many of the same age, calling, and constitution with myself have gone; and why not I? If God had given death a commission, my soul had left this body; and where had I now been? either in heaven or hell; for immediately after death comes judgment: and what is my present readiness? 6. What *providences* have I met with this last year, cross or comfortable? What rods of wrath or cords of love, what sicknesses and recoveries, what losses and disappointments, what griefs of heart and improvement of them? Hath not this been (annus miserabilis) a woful year, on personal, domestic, and public accounts? Yet mayest thou not now set up an Ebenezer? What elegies, or songs of triumph hast thou sung? What benefits hast thou obtained by all the divine dispensations? 7. What is the *state of my soul?* Am I a child of God or of the devil; in a state of nature or grace? Am I a stranger, or a fellow-citizen with the saints? If I have wandered another year, I am farther out of the way by one year's journey. If I be a convert, what progress in holiness, increase in grace and knowledge, and what communion with God have I enjoyed? What clearer evidences of my state and interest in Christ have I? What is my meetness for heaven and preparation for death? Lord, humble and pardon thy sinful servant."

"As for the year I have entered on, I do purpose by the assistance of divine grace, 1. Not to make account of long life, but become prepared for death. God forbid I should please myself with the hope of

living to the end of this year. I will not boast myself of to-morrow, for who knows what a day may bring forth? I will not anticipate either my future comforts or crosses: sufficient to the day is the evil thereof. I would live every day as if it were my last; for my times are in God's hand. What a number of sudden deaths have I seen! and why may not I be snatched away in an instant? O that I could be always ready! 2. I am resolved not to put off what my conscience tells me: if a duty, to be speedy in the practice of it; if a sin, to fall quickly to war against it, and mortify it. O that I could make haste and not delay to keep God's righteous judgments! God forbid, I should, with Felix, adjourn a conviction to a more convenient time. If I put off this day, I shall be less fit to-morrow. Time past has fled away, and the future is not at my command. O that to-day I could hear and obey his voice! 3. I would be daily making new vows and renewing my covenant with God. As I this day repent of my broken covenant, so I will bring myself under new obligations to be the Lord's devoted servant for ever. I have sworn, and would perform, that I will keep God's righteous judgments: I would vow and pay, pay and vow again this day. This day write it down, O my soul, what obligations thou hast laid on thyself for closer obedience, constant watchfulness, and daily intercourse with God. 4. I do further resolve, in the strength of God, and would take him with me, not to take my old guilt to a new year; and I am loth to take my old frame to new services, for then I should make bungling work of it. Lord, anoint my soul with fresh oil; give me the assistance of thy Holy Spirit; quicken me, and I shall own thy name; create in me a clean heart; renew in me a right spirit; stir up thy grace within me, and bring my soul nearer to thee. 5. I will make account of troubles and diffi-

culties this ensuing year. God forbid, I should please myself and say, I shall have peace; and that to-morrow shall be as this day and much more abundant. I may have hard work from Satan, the world, bad and good men, myself, yea, from God. O that my foot may stand in an even place! I little know what is before me; but whatever it is, if God be with me and for me, who can be against me? 6. I have therefore resolved to put myself into the hand of God, in doing and suffering, for he is faithful Creator, a merciful Father, a skilful Physician, a safe Guide: 'Father, into thy hands I commend my spirit,' and will acknowledge thee in all my ways. He will deliver, he doth deliver, he will guide me by his counsel, and so receive me to glory. 7. Once more, I desire to depart, and to be with Christ, which is far better than being here. O Lord, if it be thy will, let this be the last year of my life. I have travelled long enough on this side the mountain, make haste, my beloved, and be thou like a roe or a young hart upon the mountains of spices. Come, and break down this clay wall, and take me to immediate and everlasting communion. O welcome death! that shall come as a messenger to fetch me to my Father's house. What do I here? or I may say with blessed Calvin, (usque quo, Domine?) 'how long, Lord?' Not that I am weary of life, or in love with death, through any outward calamities that have befallen me? no, I bless the Lord, I am as free as most men, and I have as much comfort and content as ever I had in all my life; but, methinks, I am long kept from my dearest Lord, and from the blessed society above. I almost envy the happiness of my dear, former, christian friends, whom I could name, and with whom I have had sweet communion in private and public ordinances, who are now before the throne of God and see his face. God hath wiped all tears from their faces, whereas my tears

are wet on my cheeks. Lord, why may not this be the blessed jubilee of my release? But, as I pray that thy name may be glorified, and thy kingdom come, so also that thy will may be done in me and by me; by me here on earth till I reach heaven, by me here on earth as it is done in heaven; and if thou hast any further service for a poor worm in thy church militant, I am both willing and thankful for it; only qualify me for it, fortify me against all opposition, sanctify me for all dispensations, and give me glorious success in my poor endeavours for thy church's good; the longer I live and labour for thee, the higher the glory and brighter the crown shall be to,

"Thy aged servant for ever,

"OLIVER HEYWOOD."

Mr. Heywood generally enjoyed a good state of health, and was seldom prevented from attending to his public duties as a minister by indisposition of body; but in the latter part of the year 1691, while visiting his friends in Lancashire, he found himself indisposed and returned home on Friday, Sept. 25th. The day after he went to fulfil an engagement to preach at Alverthorp, and on the succeeding Wednesday attended a fast and preached at a neighbour's house, but was not able to conduct the services of the sanctuary on the Lord's day. "Oct. 4th, 1691," he says, "I had my first fit of the ague, besides which I had six others. They returned every third day, and every one was worse than the preceding; the last fit I had was on the 16th, which stupified me. My spirits were much affected, and my body much weakened by them. I was brought so low that many despaired of my life, and it was reported in many places that I was dead; but God showed wonders on the dead, and answered the

many and importunate prayers of his people for me. Many came and prayed with me, and some private fasts were kept on my behalf. At last God gradually restored me, so that I preached two Fridays in my own house, and ventured to preach in my chapel, Nov. 29th, having been ten Lord's days from the place, eight of which were on account of my disease. Dec. 10th, we kept a solemn day of thanksgiving, with about forty of our christian friends and neighbours. Dec. 14th, we kept another day of thankfulness with about twenty young men and women. God made it a good day, and many mercies were enumerated concerning me." The state of his mind under this affliction he thus describes: "I was not afraid of death, nay, I longed for it; and when many judged it all over with me, I was afraid it was too good news to be true, and was loth to be sent back from the port and harbour into the tumultuous sea of a wicked world, with a deceitful heart; for God had immediately before given me assurance of his love, and some foretastes of heaven."

Mr. Heywood was mercifully restored from his affliction of body; but was soon called to experience a different trial. Anxious for the spread of the gospel, he cheerfully encouraged new interests, either by his personal labours, or by his endeavours to procure for them supplies or stated pastors. He had frequently served the congregations at Pontefract and Alverthorp; but some of the people put a very wrong construction on his motives and actions, which occasioned for a short time no small degree of uneasiness to his tender conscience. The following is his own account of the affair: "Immediately after my recovery, there came a letter to me subscribed only by R. J. but I perceive consented to by others at Alverthorp, charging me with ruining the congregations at Pontefract and

Alverthorp, because of some words I had said to Mr. Gill when he came to visit me. I was greatly perplexed, and my sleep was broken; not that I was guilty, but on account of their prejudice. I betook myself to my old remedy, and prayed God would let them see their mistake, humble their hearts, and make us reconciled. I wrote a letter containing a full answer to their charges against me; but mine not arriving, they wrote again and I sent another. At length six of them came purposely to me to confess their faults and mistakes, and wished me to go and preach for them again. The mistake originated with the young man they had invited to come to them, judging, or rather misjudging, that I had so much interest in the places, that Mr. S. and Mr. G. could not come without my leave, whereas I gave no occasion for such a suspicion." As a proof of his cordial forgiveness he embraced an early opportunity of preaching for them; and on his return experienced a gracious deliverance from danger. "The day before I preached at Alverthorp," Mr. H. says, "C. Clark came for me, and we commended ourselves into God's hands. We came safely to Wakefield, where I preached that day, and at Alverthorp on the Lord's day, at Mr. Naylor's on Monday, and at Wakefield again on Tuesday. I knew not of any company home, and set off at four o'clock. At the back of the town, when I came to Westgate Moor, I struck towards the road; but in passing over a ditch which proved deeper than I expected, my horse threw me before him. With much difficulty I got out, and found I had bit my tongue and bruised my face; but was able to get on my horse and ride home. This was a gracious providence, and I look on it as an answer to my poor prayers that morning. I was alone and not in the road, so that if I had been hurt, it might

have been a long time before I had been found, and I am very unwieldy and helpless. J. W. was killed near Morley by a horse and cart about a fortnight since. Why was I not brought home dead or lamed? Just before, my wife and I had been a journey into Lancashire, and returned home in peace and safety. Blessed be our gracious and prayer-hearing God. O my soul, give God all the glory."

The diligent and disinterested labours of Mr. Heywood were remarkably blessed to the conversion of souls, and he often records, with gratitude and joy, many instances of his successful preaching that came to his knowledge: "My eager and earnest desire for many years," he says, "hath been carried out for the conversion of sinners to God, and it hath been some discouragement of late that I have not heard of such results as formerly; but God hath now revived my languishing hope, which I must solemnly record. 1. J. Rhodes, of Haworth, told me of a man near Colne, wrought upon by a sermon I preached at Holmes Chapel, two or three years ago, who is now very serious. 2. J. Butterworth informed me of a young man at Liverpool, convinced by a sermon I preached at Ormskirk three years since, who says, he never engages in prayer but he prays particularly for me. He is become eminent, and hath been an instrument of good to some of his relations. 3. Lydia Wood came to me the other day in great trouble of spirit, and appears very hopeful. 4. Mary Hanson lately came to me in agony of mind. Her husband told me some circumstances that gave me grounds to hope well of her. 5. W. Ramsden's daughter was forbidden by her father to hear me: but she came once, and God was pleased to take hold of her heart. 6. Another young woman hath come to me, weeping much on ac-

count of her soul. 7. A servant at Rhodes-Hall, who had been a wicked lad, comes constantly to hear me, and is much changed, spends much time in reading, praying, and talking in a religious strain with his fellow-servants, and is very hopeful. I have also heard that God hath set the faces of several young men among my hearers heaven-wards, and that they frequently meet in the night for prayer. I was greatly rejoiced by the good news, and sent on Lord's day to speak to one of them, desiring he would ask his companions to come to my house the following Wednesday. They came Nov. 16th, 1692, about two o'clock, and continued till seven. God greatly assisted them in confessing sins, pleading for converting grace, and in expressing their concern lest they should be mistaken in their views of themselves. They pleaded for the church, for me, and my family, &c. It was time profitably spent. Much of the presence of God was enjoyed by these hopeful youths, with whom I never before joined in prayer except with one. Six of them engaged, and prayed experimentally and feelingly; I was amazed at their gifts. Many of them are the children of carnal parents. They blessed God for my recovery and labours, and that they had ever seen my face and heard my voice. I concluded the meeting, and was about an hour in prayer. Such feelings of gratitude I have seldom had with other persons. Blessed be free grace for this abundant answer of prayer."

When Mr. Heywood entered the 65th year of his age, he still continued his itinerant labours as he had opportunities, besides his stated services at home. In a journey to York, during the summer of 1693, he says: "I visited and prayed with Mr. Sharp, and baptized five children for him at Leeds. On Friday, I preached the lecture in the new meeting place, at

York, for Mr. Colton; travelled to Bell-Hall, and discoursed with Lady Hewley, and prayed for her and her sick family; preached on the Lord's day at York, and visited my friends; met Lord Wharton at Healaugh, gave him a catalogue of 160 bibles and catechisms distributed by me; procured 50 bibles and catechisms for friends; obtained £5. for J. Heywood, £3. for our* school, and £10. for Bramham. I prayed four times with Lord Wharton,† and returned safely home, though late, Aug. 24th."

* Mr. H. was at this time engaged in the erection of a school in his neighbourhood, to which he subscribed liberally himself, and obtained the benevolent contributions of others, which he records: "Mr. J. H. who owns Northowram-Green, was willing to give ground, ten yards square, and stones for the building. Wm. Clay, R. Ramsden, J. Baxter, and I undertook the affair: J. Baxter was to overlook the work. I gave £5. at first, and procured £7. towards building it; but we are not certain what it will cost. It was finished; and Mr. David Hartley, born at Halifax, and educated at Oxford, came to teach school, Dec. 5th, 1693. I prevailed with Lord Wharton to maintain six poor scholars at this school."

† "Philip, Lord Wharton, was a puritan nobleman of considerable note. He was one of the lay members of the Westminster Assembly, and took a most active part in supporting the Parliament against the King, for which service he was created an Earl by the House. He was appointed, with several others, resident Commissioner at Edinburgh, to attend the Scotch Parliament. He was sent to the Tower for challenging the legality of the long Parliament of Charles II. After this he travelled abroad, taking Mr. Howe with him. He seems to have been a decided Nonconformist, and his house was a refuge for Nonconformist Ministers in time of persecution. While attending Dr. Manton's Meeting at one time, the place was beset and his name taken down. The place was fined £40. and the Minister £20. which his Lordship paid. Mr. Locke describes him, as 'an old, expert parliament man, of eminent piety and abilities, and a great friend to the Protestant religion, and interest of England.' In a postscript to a letter which Dr. Owen wrote from his house to the church, in Berry-Street, when he was ill, he thus expresses himself concern-

His covenant at the close of this year is as follows: "O my dear Lord, I have, by thy wonderful hand of providence, passed another year in mercy, and though a vile cumber-ground, spent one week in another year, by the interposing kindness of my all-sufficient Mediator. I do now prostrate myself at thy Majesty's footstool, giving thee most hearty thanks, setting up my Ebenezer, and saying, with thy servant David: 'Who am I, O Lord God, and what is my house, that thou hast brought me hitherto?' Thy kindness hath counteracted my demerits and fears, and surmounted my hopes and expectations. There is scarcely such an instance of divine benignity under the heavens! Thou hast regarded me according to the estate of a man of high degree, O Lord God! Thou hast made me a member of, yea, a minister in, thy church; an office more fit for a prince than a peasant, an angel than a mortal man. Thou hast found me out employment public and private, at home and abroad; thou hast given me the esteem and affection of thy people; hast crowned my labours with abundant success; hast favoured me with many visits from heaven, maintained

ing the family: 'I humbly desire you would in your prayers remember the family where I am, from whom I have received and do receive great christian kindness. I may say, as the Apostle of Onesiphorus, The Lord grant to them that they may find mercy of the Lord in that day: for they have often refreshed me in my great distress. The Countess of Wharton appears to have been a very excellent woman, and from the language of Mr. Howe, in the Dedication of his "Thoughtfulness for the Future," she was decidedly a Nonconformist, if not a member of his church. He speaks of her Ladyship having been called to serve the christian interest in a family wherein it had long flourished, and which it had dignified beyond all the splendour that antiquity and secular greatness could confer upon it."—*Orme's Life of Owen, p.* 375—6. Lord Wharton died at Hampstead, Feb. 5th, 1696, aged 82, and was buried at Wooburn.—*O. Heywood's MS.*

my lot, and continued me in this neighbourhood, in some measure of faithfulness, against all opposition, these forty-four years. Thou hast even spoken well of thy servant's house for a great while to come; for thou hast given me two hopeful sons, (the third is, I hope, in heaven,) whom I have given back to thee in the ministry. My eldest son hath this last year found a wife, a prudent companion, and thereby obtained favour from the Lord. Thou hast called my son to pastoral employment in Pontefract, given him a heart concerned for the good of precious souls: and who can tell what spiritual children he may have in the gospel? Many prayers are on the file in heaven for him: and what can thy servant speak more unto thee, for the honour of thy servant? My outward comforts are not inconsiderable: thou hast given me Agur's lot, neither poverty nor riches, but food convenient for me. Thou hast rather increased than diminished my estate this year: and thou, O my God, hast told thy servant, that 'thou wilt build him a house, therefore thy servant hath prayed unto thee.' O my dear Lord, the everlasting, covenant-keeping, and prayer-hearing God, I am thy worthless servant, the minister of my Father's house, and that the least in our English Israel. Thou hast taken me, as it were, from the sheepcote, though very deficient in capacity, and one of the darkest sinners amongst the sons of men, as unlikely a being as any to be brought into the bond of thy covenant; yet such is thy transcendant and condescending love, that thou hast been with me whithersoever I have walked, and hast made me a name like the name of the *great*, at least of the *good* men that are in the earth. I have in my days passed through straits and abundance, liberty and imprisonments, comforts and crosses, honour and dishonour, evil and good

report, as sorrowful, yet always rejoicing; my journey to the heavenly Canaan hath been up hill and down, and hitherto my days, like a sea-faring man's, have been sometimes lifted up to heaven, and presently cast down into the deep abyss. Well, be it so: God is still the same and changeth not, therefore I have not been consumed. Whatever instability or disorders there are in my house or heart, I am persuaded the covenant of grace is ordered in all things and sure, and *there* is all my salvation and all my desire, though he make it not to grow. Thou, O Lord, art my rock on whom I repose: thou hast received great sinners, propped up weak saints, comforted grieved spirits, relieved and released tempted souls; I can set my *probatum est* to all thy sovereign receipts. I have found a believing prayer to be as a merchant's ship to fetch good commodities from a far country, a private key to unlock the treasures of heaven, a channel to convey divine influences. Sometimes guilt has set a lock on my lips, and hardness has stupified my heart, and deadness has benumbed my conscience and affections. I have been so troubled that I could not speak, and so overwhelmed as not to express the agonies of my heart; but presently the tide has been turned, and the Holy Spirit has given free vent to my troubled thoughts; then a torrent of affections has flowed and my heart has gone out to God, because God has come into my soul. He is a free agent, like the wind that comes and goes where and when it listeth. Blessed be God that my spiritual state and eternal happiness depend not on the mutable ebullitions of my heart, or variableness of my sensations; but on his eternal thoughts of love to sinners, Christ's death, and the infallible promises of his blessed covenant; there I repose and venture my immortal soul; and though my comforts may ebb

and flow, yet free grace, Christ's merits, and the Spirit's needful influences are the support of

"Thy devoted servant,

"O H."

At the close of the next year of his life, he thus writes: "March 15th, 1695. This morning I set myself to spend some time in prayer, being sixty-five years from the day whereon I was baptized. I began with reading my regular chapter, which was 1 Cor. iii. About seven o'clock proceeded to confess the sins of my nature, heart and life, in the course of my pilgrimage, for about one hour, and came down to family duty. Went up again, read Isa. xl, and then pleaded with God for my own soul about an hour; God greatly assisted me. Then I read a chapter, began pleading with God for the nation and my congregation, but was straitened and discouraged; I rose from my knees, considered a little, and had thoughts of desisting, but resolved to try once more. I read Ps. cxv, resolved on the duty of thankfulness; and O what a field of matter, what floods of tears, and what meltings of heart had I for an hour! Blessed be God for that little corner of heaven; I must write it down, and set a star upon it as one of the days of heaven, an anticipation of that glory I am hastening to and am not far from."

"My dear parents presented me to the Lord in the ordinance of baptism, devoted me then, and therein doubtless prayed for me; and afterwards afforded me a pious and liberal education. Yet little did they think that I should live above sixty years, to see such changes in civil and ecclesiastical affairs as I have done since 1640: the bishops in power, then down, and then up again. Little did they think that I should be a public preacher above forty-four years, have such a

measure of health, liberty, and opportunities more than most of my brethren, with some good success and fruit of my poor labours;—that I should print so many books, enjoy so many comforts of life, bring up two sons to be ministers, build a chapel, help so many poor ministers and Christians in their necessities by myself and others, and yet have a competency for myself and family! Nothing was more improbable than these things; which, without adding more, I record not for ostentation, but to set off the riches of grace, and that I and my posterity in future ages may learn to trust God and glorify his all-sufficiency. O my soul, reflect upon thyself. Thy life has been a life of wonders, and the life of nature hath been attended by a better life of grace. O the lively influences of grace I have enjoyed! Many a sweet hour hath my soul had with God; this hath been the seasoning of my life. I could not have lived nor carried on without God; this is the antidote against the poison of sin, the pledge and presage of a better life to come. My dear Lord hath not only put me into a posture for enjoying his presence hereafter, but made me instrumental in diffusing spiritual life among others. Blessed be his holy name! Who knows but my own sons, and others whom I have been instrumental in introducing into the ministry, may be the means of converting others? This, this is better to me than crowns and kingdoms, or thousands a-year. My soul praise the Lord, speak well of him, act more vigorously for him, keep close to him, live always as in his sight, long to be with him, and make thyself ready for his immediate presence."

In the year 1696, Mr. Heywood paid his last visit to his native county. His advanced age rendered him unfit for travelling much abroad; but he had a strong inducement to undertake this journey, princi-

pally to testify his affectionate regard to the memory of his sister Esther Whitehead,* who had lately died, and requested him to preach on a given text at Bolton. "I designed a journey into Lancashire this summer," he says, "on account of some worldly business with my tenants, but chiefly to preach my sister Esther's funeral sermon at Bolton, on a text she left as a blessed legacy, Isa. xliv. 22. I was solicitous about that journey, and prayed to God to direct and protect me. At last I resolved, and cousin J. Heywood came for me, with whom I set out, June 1st, and returned with Jas. Lomax,† June 12th. In that journey I preached seven times, at Eccles, Manchester, Bolton, Cockey-moor, Rochdale, and Sowerby; baptized two children, and administered the Lord's supper at Bolton to near 500 persons, I judge. I was fatigued, but the Lord brought me safely home. I found peace and safety in every step of my way, assistance in my work, and success in my undertakings, namely, in relieving several necessitous poor, reconciling differences, and conversing with friends. O for the fruit of my labours in my native county! I have seen some gracious answers of prayer, and remarkable passages of providence in the review. Blessed be my good God."

Soon after his return from Lancashire, he resolved

* She was about two years older than her brother Oliver, and was married to William Whitehead in 1648, who was born in Craven, and brought up at Halifax. "He was a man of singular endowments, much reading, gravity, holiness, usefulness, a nonsuch of his kind in the country both for grace and natural abilities. God removed him by a few days' sickness, Nov. 15, 1661."—*O. Heywood's MS.* He was buried in Bolton church-yard.

† James Lomax married Esther the younger daughter of John Heywood, Oliver's oldest brother. They lived on part of the family estate in Little Lever, which is still occupied by their descendants.

to visit his friends at York and in the neighbourhood, before the close of the summer. The following is the account he gives of his journey: "Aug. 25, 1696, I set out for York, having put myself into the hand of God, visited many friends, and lodged at my old quarters. I preached the lecture at York on Friday, spent the Lord's day at Bell-Hall with Lady Hewley, which was providentially ordered, Mr. K. assisting Dr. Colton at York that day. Met with Mr. Taylor and his company, and travelled with them to Ferry-bridge, which gave me opportunity to discourse with Mr. White relative to various matters of moment, he being one of my Lord Wharton's executors. I lodged at Pontefract, and saw my daughter and grandchild, and got safely home a day sooner than I expected, and found all well: praised be God."

The ministerial character, abilities, and usefulness of Mr. Heywood, caused him to be respected wherever known. Public worship among the Dissenters being now protected by the laws of the land, many dissenting places were erected about this time, and the people wishing to obtain settled pastors, and there not being a sufficient supply of young ministers to answer the numerous demands, some of the congregations in large and populous towns were under the necessity of applying to those who had been labouring in obscure parts of the country. Mr. Heywood, being well known amongst the Dissenters by his publications and preaching, received several invitations this year to other places. The congregation at Little St. Helen's,* in London,

* Dr. Annesley collected a congregation here, upon king Charles's indulgence in 1672. In this place, the first public ordination amongst the Dissenters was held June 22, 1694. The service was conducted with great solemnity, and continued from ten o'clock in the morning till six in the evening. Dr. Annesley was promised considerable preferment in the establishment, if he would conform,

lately under the pastoral care of Dr. Annesley, were anxious to have him as their pastor, but he immediately gave them a denial. He also received invitations to labour at Halifax and Manchester, both which he refused. In his review of this year he says: "March 15th, 1697, my baptismal day, I resolved to spend the forenoon in secret in my chamber with God, &c. After dinner I returned to my study, and made some reflections on what had past the former year. Much delightful experience I have had of communion with God in my chamber, and many remarkable providences about myself and small family, at home and abroad. God hath given me abundant supplies in worldly concerns this year, though many have been brought to poverty by decay of trade, scarcity of money, and bankruptcies; yet I have rather laid up than run into debt: blessed be God. I have had more invitations to considerable places this year than before. At Halifax, where the people have built a large meeting place, and fixed on Mr. Priestley to supply every other sabbath, Mr. Priestley and some others spoke to me, wishing me to supply the vacant sabbath. I preached the first sermon in it, Nov. 11th, but dared not promise to go constantly, however I told them I would help occasionally, which I have done, and got supplies for Northowram. Oct. 14th, two men came from Manchester to persuade me to accept an invitation to the place where Mr. Newcome had preached. I put them off at that time, but they wrote to me repeatedly: at last I told them I was resolved to stay where I was."

"Who am I, O Lord God, and what is my father's

but he was so convinced of his duty to act as a Nonconformist minister, that he resisted all the temptations offered him. He laboured much and successfully in the Lord's vineyard for fifty-five years, and died in the 77th year of his age, Dec. 31, 1696.

house that thou hast brought me hitherto? I have continued sixty-seven years in the world, and forty-six in this neighbourhood, preaching publicly and privately. My old hearers are more unwilling to part with me than ever. Some of them are sensible the salary is but small, that I maintain considerable hospitality, and that several are now gone from us to Halifax. Some of my friends enlarged their contributions without my asking, for I never stood upon terms with them; I told them, whether they gave me any thing or nothing I was resolved to stay with them, and would draw my last breath amongst them, for the following reasons: 1. This was the first and only place I have been settled in. 2. Many of my people have adhered to me in difficult times and in my imprisonment. 3. God hath given me many seals, as children born to him in this place, whom I dare not leave. 4. I cannot but foresee the sad consequences of my leaving them, for none would serve them at the rate I have done. 5 God hath given me a house of my own, and I have been at charges to build a chapel, and let the people have the use of it gratis. 6. I have something of my own yearly coming in for necessary supplies, and I desire not riches since my family is small, and my sons are educated. 7. I have many christian friends in the country whom I visit, and to whom I preach, who are kind to me, and I have some indigent places for which I procure supplies; I think if my own people would let me go others would not. And, alas, how long have I to live? What a bad example it would be to others, and what reproach would it raise against us, that we are covetous and would move for more income, and I cannot expect that either Manchester or London would be heaven? I might meet with troubles there and then call in question my call to remove.

Besides, it is ill transplanting a tree that thrives well in the soil, as my father Angier wrote to me about my going to Preston. He also quoted, 'When I sent you without purse, and scrip, and shoes, lacked ye any thing? And they said, nothing.' I cannot say, I have wanted conveniences; nay, God hath abundantly blessed me in this place, and I have seen the sad effects of persons removing to greater places. I am sure my gifts are more adapted to a poor village than to a great town or city; I have a numerous assembly constantly, and a society to which I administer all ordinances, as many as I am able to overlook; and I think my genius and constitution are more adapted to a country than a city life."

"The Eternal Jehovah, one God in three persons, whom I have chosen as my chief good, and have many times in the uprightness of my heart given myself unto, hath this year loaded me with mercies, as many as I am able to bear. God hath given me *temporals*. 1. A pious, prudent, careful, good-natured wife, who is exceedingly tender of me, almost to excess, with whom I have lived very peaceably almost thirty years. 2. God hath given us our health in a great measure, though we have both been under the sentence of death for a short season. We are free from any lingering distempers by which many are sorely afflicted. 3. God hath kept death out of our family thirty-six years. My dear wife, Elizabeth, died at her reverend father Angier's, 1661, and since that time, we have had a continuance of the same number, with the addition of my present wife. 4. I have two sons who are a very great comfort to me, and who have expressed their care of me beyond comparison, both when absent and present, when sick and well: and as my wife is as affectionate towards them as any mother can be, so

are they as kind and dutiful to her as if she were their own mother. 5. God hath added to our family two very lovely branches, my son John's wife, a very amiable, and I hope, pious person, whose marriage with him was very disinterested, as she knew not whether he would have any thing or nothing, though she had above £400. to her portion. However, I have since given him half of my land in Little Lever; she was married to him regarding him as a pious minister, and they live very comfortably together. And God hath added one more, by giving them the fruit of marriage, a very lovely son, a Timothy, a return of prayer dedicated to God in baptism, called after Mr. Timothy Jollie, whom my daughter-in-law owns as her spiritual father, and he is my son in the faith as Timothy of old was of Paul's. This young Timothy, my grandson, is above a year old, comes on apace,* and I hope will bear God's name in the world as well as mine in aftertimes. 6. We have a faithful, laborious, conscientious, and quiet servant, Susannah Tillotson,† whom we have had in the family nearly sixteen years; who kept house for us carefully that year when I was in York Castle, indeed she is, as a servant, a non-such, with whom we have scarcely ever had an angry word; however, she never answers again, she is very prudent, and, I hope, fears God. 7. The habitation in which I live is my own, purchased twenty-five years since, in which I have lived comfortably, where I commenced housekeeping when first married, above forty years

* "Timothy Heywood, son of Mr. John Heywood, of Pontefract, died Sept. 24th, 1717; he had been married on the 18th of the same month."—*Northowram Register*, continued by Mr. Thomas Dickenson.

† "Susannah Tillotson died May 21st, 1712. Had been a servant to Mr. and Mrs. Heywood about twenty-six years. Aged about seventy three."—*Northowram Register*, &c.

ago, in which my three sons were born, and from which my own mother ascended to heaven, the only house I would choose in all the country, a good house with little land, that I might not be cumbered with worldly business. 8. God gave me money to build a meeting-place very near my house, which is a great convenience for me in my old age, and contains some hundreds of people every Lord's day. 9. God hath cast my lot among peaceable, affectionate neighbours, in a village of about fourteen families, so that no difference hath fallen out among us, and they all generally come to my chapel, and are glad apparently of my company. 10. God hath blessed me with a competent estate, and though I have visibly a smaller income than many, yet I do experience a secret blessing in what I enjoy, so that besides my family expenses and acts of charity, I do every year lay up something. 11. I have had great safety at home, as freedom from robbers and unreasonable men, and among all my journeys and falls, I have never broken a bone nor put one out of joint. 12. I have had daily accommodations, food, raiment, refreshing sleep, a fire to sit by, a good chamber to study in, books to read, my memory, imagination, and the use of all my limbs. What shall I say more? Many, O Lord my God, are the wonderful works which thou hast done, they cannot be reckoned up in order unto thee; if I would declare and speak of them, they are more than can be numbered. One thing more, as an outward mercy, which occasioned this meditation, is the good esteem I have among ministers and Christians, which is no contemptible mercy. Demetrius had a good report of all men, and of the truth itself. God hath honoured me with this, which hath been variously demonstrated, particularly in the kind invitations I have had from abroad, and the respect I have

at home. God forbid, this should feed an ambitious desire, yea, it humbles me, I must not however bury it in the grave of silence, but adore God in it as an inducement to my doing good."

"But the best blessings and most precious are my *soul's mercies*, which as they are of infinitely more worth, so they are no fewer. The Father of mercies, Jesus Christ, the Holy Spirit, one God, is my God, who hath in the covenant of grace made himself over to me, and all his perfections to be employed for my good. The Father hath given his own and only Son to lay down his life for me, to reconcile me to God, who is become my prophet, priest, and king, who hath called me by his grace, put spiritual life into me when dead in trespasses and sins, who hath enlightened my mind, convinced my conscience, bowed my will, renewed and drawn my affections to himself, given me a heart to believe, repent, and obey his gospel, hath engaged my soul in solemn covenant, conquered Satan for me, subdued sin in me, loosened my heart from the world, and helped me to love and fear him, to hate sin and abstain from appearances of evil. It was only free grace that hath divorced me from vain company and brought me into the society of Christians from my childhood to this day. O what delight and satisfaction have I had in the communion of saints, many of whom have long since landed safe in heaven. O the blessed private fasts, days of thanksgiving and conferences I have had! How sweet have sabbaths, sermons, and sacraments been to my soul! Many a time have I sat under the shadow of God with great delight, and his fruit hath been sweet unto my taste. He hath cast me down and raised me up by his Spirit. Many choice refreshments I have had in my journeys and in God's sacred institutions. But what

outgoings of soul and incomes of grace have I met with from God in secret? My daily communion with God hath made the happiest seasons of my life. I have crept to my dear Lord every morning and at other times, and he hath not been a stranger to me. He hath given me tokens of his love, and not disclaimed my secret groans, sighs and tears. I would not barter these endearments for all the purchases on earth. Though it hath not been always so, yet sometimes my dear Lord hath taken me into his banqueting house, and his banner over me hath been love. I can truly say, that God deals familiarly with man. O what multitudes of sins hath my God pardoned! What numerous prayers hath he answered, what fears dispelled, and griefs removed, yea, my God hath performed all things for me. These last years I have been loaded with mercies in my private and personal capacity as a Christian, and in my public work as a minister. I can look no way but mercies surround me beyond my arithmetic. What shall I render to the Lord for all his benefits towards me? I will pay my vows unto the Lord now, in the presence of all his people, and make new vows."

In the review of the year 1698, he thus expresses himself: "Blessed be God who hath brought me hitherto through a variety of duties, difficulties and mercies, to enter upon the seventieth year of my life, the age of man. Whether I shall accomplish this year, I know not, nor am I much concerned, so that I may live to God, and finish my course with joy in his service and to his glory. I said to him this day, when prostrate before him, now, Lord, I would welcome my last breath, that this poor carcass may never rise but be carried to the grave, if only my soul may ascend to heaven; but I have arisen in health, and this breath

I give to thee, this body and all its powers and senses shall be for thy service, this soul and all its faculties shall be for thy glory. I am here to comply with thy mind, to be at thy disposal; service or suffering, this ensuing year, shall be welcome. Make my heart sound in thy statutes, search me to the bottom, discover to me all the deceit and fallacies in my heart. Leave me not to myself, hold me by my right hand, that my soul may still follow hard after thee. Give me this year seals to my ministry, set my soul some steps nearer heaven, and let me have some further attainments towards perfection. O that I could bring forth still more fruit in old age to myself and others, and in both to God. Help me to arise and depart, for this is not my rest, that my soul may aspire more after my everlasting rest above."

The increasing infirmities of old age prevented Mr. Heywood from going much abroad, so that he could not enjoy the society of his numerous friends as formerly; but he was occasionally refreshed by the company and conversation of those who came to visit him. He takes particular notice of a visit paid him by Mr. Timothy Jollie, for whom he entertained the most cordial affection, not only as a Christian, but as his son in the gospel. "May 17th, 1700, my wife and I had been at a private fast, and immediately after we came home, Mr. Timothy Jollie came to my house, and brought Mr. Mault, (his scholar,) and his son Timothy* with him, intending to stay the Lord's day;

* This Timothy Jollie, son of Mr. Timothy Jollie, the tutor at Attercliffe, became assistant to Mr. Wadsworth, his father's successor. In 1720, he was invited to London, to assist Mr. Matthew Clarke, at Miles's-Lane, Cannon-Street. On the death of Mr. Clarke, he was chosen pastor of that church, in which station he continued till his death, Aug. 3d, 1757, aged sixty-five. His

but my wife was taken so ill I durst not invite them, but in the morning she was better. There were many mercies in this mercy.—He, his pupil, and myself spent some time in prayer on Saturday forenoon, when every one of us felt his heart going out after God.—Mr. Jollie was particularly affected in the duty, when taking notice of the sermon I preached twenty-six years ago in Westmoreland, on 2 Tim. iii. 7, from which he dated his conversion.—He also took special notice of another sermon I preached while he was at Mr. Frankland's, on making a spiritual use of all parts of learning. I had forgotten it, but he remembered it very distinctly, having been edified thereby.—Mr. Jollie informed me of a circumstance concerning my son Eliezer, which I had never heard before, that he had saved his life at Natland when some of the scholars went to bathe. Blessed be God for that preventing mercy.—He preached both parts of the Lord's day in my meeting-place, on Jer. iii. 22, very feelingly and judiciously; he prayed very fervently, and gave great satisfaction to the congregation, which was very large. He said he had not seen such a numerous assembly in a country place, nor even in a market town. May God do good to them.—Our personal converse was agreeable and savoury, though, alas, not so profitable as it might and ought to have been; but he is very intelligent and observant.—I do perceive that God hath made him of great use in training up young persons to the ministry. He has at this time twenty-six scholars, and forty more, who have been instructed by him, are employed in that sacred office. Indeed he is well accomplished for this work, having learning, gifts,

funeral sermon was preached by Dr. David Jennings, from Phil. i. 23.—See Wilson's History of Dissenting Churches, vol. i. p. 492—496.

sweet temper, and soundness in the faith; not drawn away with the new opinions, very orthodox, and of a moderate spirit. Blessed be God for him. He receives Mr. Prince's people to communion, and some of his people sit down with Mr. Prince, though he be a Congregationalist; he is of a healing and humble spirit. These are important and signal mercies for which I have prayed, and cannot but take special notice of, as an answer to prayer."

In the latter part of this summer his wife and son John had the sentence of death in them, but God had mercy on them and on him also, lest he should have sorrow upon sorrow. "My wife," he mentions, "was taken ill on the Lord's day, Sept. 22nd. I was afraid she was seized with a fever which is very much about in the neighbourhood. She was much weakened by it, so that she could not go to chapel the next Lord's day. I was greatly concerned for her; prayed and gave her into the Lord's hand, who was pleased to restore her, so that the Lord's day after she was at our place of worship, wrote the sermons, and repeated as she is wont to do. J. C. lies dead at this time, who has been ill of the fever only a fortnight. My wife is above sixty-eight years of age, and he little above forty. My son Eliezer came and told me my son John was in a fever. I charged him when he returned the next day to let me know how he did, but I heard nothing for several days. I was much concerned, spread his case before the Lord, and put him into his hands. On the Lord's day after, two men went about Halifax and told several persons I was dead;* the next day

* A similar report had been circulated several months before, on which he made the following remarks: "Alas, what a lying world is this! Some raise a groundless report, others tell it confidently without examining the truth, as in this, so in many other

many inquired of our servant, who rectified the mistake; but I was afraid lest my son John was meant, on which I was much distressed and prayed again for him. On Friday night a boy brought me a letter written by himself, signifying his recovery, and that he had preached the Lord's day before. O what a revival was it to my spirit! Blessed be God for this seasonable answer of prayer."

"March 12th, 1701," he says, "I staid at home and set myself solemnly to spend all that forenoon in secret prayer in my chamber, because my baptismal day happens on the last day of the week. Accordingly, after I had performed my usual chamber devotions and family duty, at nine o'clock I went into my chamber and began my exercises; read Psal. li. fell on my knees, humbled my soul for sin, pleaded for pardon and grace about an hour, and God graciously helped; then I read Isaiah lxiv, prayed for the church and nation, and God helped; then read Psalm cii. prayed again for the interest of Christ abroad in the world, and was assisted; then I read 1 Timothy, iv, pleaded for my sons, my congregation, and relations, till twelve o'clock; it was a delightful forenoon; blessed be God. O what abundant cause have I to admire the gracious providence of God to me

cases of greater importance. What cause have I to admire the good hand of Providence which hath kept me alive thus long, when I daily hear of others younger than I being snatched away by death? O that this may quicken and rouse up my spirit to be more active for God as one raised from the dead, that henceforth more good may be done by me than ever, and that it may appear God had glorious ends in sparing my life more than I yet see! Such a report as this, though false, should leave a real impression on my spirit to mortify my corruptions, wean my heart from this world, work up my soul to heavenly objects and to prepare for death—for one day it will be a true report—he is dead."

this last year on many accounts! This day, I desire to contemplate the seventy-first year of my life, longer by far than I expected to live, longer than my mother, brother, or sisters have lived, or most of my relations, except my poor father, who lived to be above eighty years of age. O what have I been doing? What doth the Lord spare my life for, from year to year? I cannot but wonder that I should be kept alive, when so many of my age and under have this year been laid in the silent dust. It hath been a year of great mortality. This time twelve months I was taken very ill; my sons and their wives came much alarmed to see me, and I was considered in great danger; but I am better now than before."

Mrs. Heywood was again visited by severe indisposition of body this year, so that for a time she was supposed to be near death; but God graciously restored her in answer to fervent prayer, after an illness of about eight weeks. "Sept. 20th, 1701," Mr. H. observes, "my wife and I being in the house alone, we spent some time in prayer, and God gave her much enlargement of heart as formerly: blessed be God. This is the first time she engaged with me since her sickness. Both my sons came and preached in my chapel Sept. 24th, and kept it as a day of thanksgiving for her. It was a good day: blessed be God."

Having surpassed the usual limits of a man's life, Mr. Heywood was looking forward to the time of his departure, and longing for its approach, and in the review of the last year of his life he thus expresses himself: "I have had multiplied mercies this year. My life is still prolonged notwithstanding my many infirmities, especially my short-breathing, which hath so increased upon me that I could not walk to my chapel, but my friends have provided me a chair in which two

men carry me; and when I get into the pulpit am enabled to preach audibly. My dear Lord has been with me all along. My wife had a long and dangerous fever which kept her ill eight or nine weeks. She wished to be gone, and desired me not to pray for her life. I gave her into God's hands and begged her again in submission to his will. He answered my desire, though she is yet weak and tender, and hath not been at chapel this February, 1702, but she is very helpful to me and others, though nearly seventy years of age. There have been many deaths about us, but death hath not broken in upon me and mine these forty years, except a little son of my son Eliezer's which they called Oliver, about seven days old: blessed be God. *But who knows what this next year may bring forth?** I have a capacity for studying sermons, and writing much. I sleep, eat my meat well, have a good digestion, and much ease, except fits of coughing which are soon over: blessed be God."

* This was written only two or three months before his death.

PART VIII.

Mr. Heywood's last Sickness and Death—His Character as a Son—Husband—Father—Master of a Family—Relative—Friend—Subject—His Religion—Spirituality of Mind—Spirit of Prayer—Gratitude to God—Self-Examination—Watchfulness—Humility—Faith—Liberality—Talents—Simplicity of Manner—Fervour of Spirit—Conscientiousness—Disinterestedness—Doctrinal Sentiments—His Views of Church Government—His Diligence in his Work—The Success of his Ministry.

REAL religion appears beautiful in every age and condition of life, but especially when its possessor is drawing very near to eternity. The patriarch Jacob was an illustrious character, but never appeared more dignified than when he strengthened himself on his bed, called his children around him, told them what should befall them in the last days, and declared that he had waited for the salvation of God. Moses, the servant of the Lord, never spoke more eloquently in addressing the tribes of Jacob, than when he was a hundred and twenty years old, and had received the command of God to ascend mount Nebo and die there. When David sat on the throne of Israel, invested with all the grandeur of his office, he did not appear half so glorious as when he assembled the princes of his people in his dying chamber, collected all his remaining strength, stood up on his feet, gave Solomon and the princes a solemn charge to build the house of the Lord, and concluded the interesting scene by blessing the glorious name of Jehovah, and praying that the whole earth

might be filled with his glory. We have traced, with some degree of minuteness, the eventful course which the subject of this memoir thought it his duty to pursue, and not a little of the power of religion as displayed in the active, holy, and devoted life of O. Heywood, may be learnt from the preceding pages, and it remains for us to observe its influence on the closing scene of his life.

When Mr. Heywood was unable to bear the fatigue of walking to his chapel, though but a short distance from his dwelling-house, his people were unwilling to be deprived of his services, especially as he wished to continue his ministerial labours to the last, and, when carried into the pulpit in his chair, he was able to conduct the services with his accustomed energy. It must have been peculiarly delightful to see this faithful servant of the Lord Jesus, whose days had been devoted to the cause of Christ and the good of souls, spending his last moments in recommending that gospel to others which had been his support and consolation through life. He delivered to others what he had seen and handled of the word of life, with all the earnestness of a man on the brink of eternity. He had no secret fear that he was deceived himself, or that he was deceiving others, when extolling the glories of Christ and the wonders of redeeming grace; but living and dying he was "not ashamed of the gospel of Christ," knowing that it was "the power of God unto salvation to every one that believeth." The subject on which he discoursed several Lord's days, immediately preceding his dissolution, was in accordance with the solemn event: "Nevertheless, the foundation of God standeth sure, having this seal, The Lord knoweth them that are his. And, Let every one that nameth the name of Christ depart from iniquity," 2 Tim. ii.

19. He was spared to complete a course of sermons on this text, and with it he closed his public ministry, the Lord's day but one before his death. No particulars of his death are preserved, except that he died in peace, May 4th, 1702, in the seventy-third year of his age, and fifty-second of his stated ministry. In the absence of other information, the concluding part of his diary, which he continued till within five days of his death, may be acceptable. "April 26th, Lord's day. In the morning I was little fit for the work of the day; yet made a venture. Read Job xiv; did pray, but was short; preached on 2 Tim. ii. 19. Finished that text. Some came in at night. I was very weary. 27th. Morning, I was ill, and had much ado to get into my chamber.* Came down, and kept down all day; began to write, but was not able. Mr. B. came and went to prayer with me. Was something better in the afternoon. 28th.† I was not able to go up into my chamber, but prayed below. Was a little assisted in the afternoon to pray in my parlour. 29th. Morning, I had help to get up, and my wife left me for prayer in the parlour. We went to family prayer. God helped. I had many visitors, and W. Clay came and went to prayer with me. Young J. P. came; his father went to prayer with me." This was written on Wednesday, and he died on the Monday following. It is generally supposed he was interred in his mother's grave, on the south side of Halifax church, called Holdsworth's chapel; but though no stone points out the place of his interment, and no monument records his name and excellencies, yet his memory is still revered in the neighbourhood where he

* Chamber, was a term by which he frequently meant his study.

† His Will bears date this day.

was born, and in the places where he dispensed the word of life; and his record is on high.*

The chief end of biography is to instruct and improve mankind. On this account the history of persons, who by their natural or acquired abilities, have arisen so far above the common standard, that they have attracted the general gaze, as if belonging to a superior order of beings, or who by birth or accident have been exalted to stations which very few can expect to occupy, is not so calculated to be productive of benefit as that of individuals who have moved in a sphere of life more resembling the ordinary circumstances of men. It is true that there are some incidents in the life of Mr. Heywood, and in the history of the times in which he lived that have contributed to his celebrity; but in the preceding narrative, which contains much of his own language, we have become acquainted with him as a man of like passions with ourselves. He has told us of his dangers, and trials, and labours as an ejected minister, and he has also made us familiar with his conduct and feelings as a man, and a Christian. He has often introduced himself as occupying the relations and engaged in duties common to ourselves; and that we may the better estimate his worth, and be excited to imitate his excellencies, we shall endeavour to

* Mr. Heywood was succeeded at Northowram, a few months after his death, by the Rev. Thomas Dickenson, who was ordained at Gorton Chapel, in Lancashire, May 24, 1694, and continued there till his removal to Northowram, in 1702. He died Dec. 26, 1743, having been minister at Northowram upwards of forty-one years. He is said to have been "an eminent, useful, and faithful minister of God's word; a meek and humble Christian; an affectionate, tender parent; a kind husband; a sincere friend; a social neighbour; a cheerful companion; very temperate; had an uncommon memory; lived well; and died looking for the mercy of our Lord Jesus Christ unto eternal life."—*Northowram MS. Register.*

describe his CHARACTER. To give a full length portrait, and a striking likeness of this distinguished man of God, would require a personal knowledge of the individual, and the hand of a skilful artist, neither of which the writer of these pages can pretend to claim. Nothing more must be expected than the faint outlines of an imperfect sketch, filled up by a few quotations.

As a *Son*, he appears an illustrious example of dutiful affection. It was his happiness to have parents who cared for his soul as well as his body, and their endeavours being crowned with the divine blessing, he considered himself as laid under a double obligation to love and obey them. As long as he lived he entertained sentiments of cordial esteem for their memory, and he never mentioned them but in the language of kindness. When his father was in difficult circumstances he travelled many miles, and cheerfully relinquished a part of his own right to satisfy the claims of creditors and preserve his father's reputation. His pious mother was very dear to him. He considered it a great honour that she took her leave of the world when on a visit at his house. In the account of her life he leaves this memorial of her piety and his affection: "I owe much to her as the instrument under God of that saving good I at first received; and I hope *I shall never forget the instructions of a mother.*"

It might naturally be expected that he, who was so affectionate as a son, was not less so as a *Husband*. His affection for Miss Angier, having originated in the purest motives, and being fostered by christian principles, was ardent and of long continuance. He frequently made mention of her many years after her decease in the most affectionate manner. In his second wife he found a suitable companion for himself, and a

kind mother to his sons. Her temporal and spiritual welfare he endeavoured to promote by every possible means. If any little unpleasant circumstance transpired, and such there will occasionally be in domestic life, his custom was to flee to a throne of grace. On one such occasion he remarks: "This is my old remedy and it never fails."

When he became a *Father* he showed himself feelingly alive to the best interests of his children. He dedicated them to God in infancy, not only in the solemn rite of baptism, but by earnest and importunate prayer, and afterwards by frequent and solemn covenant engagements. On the birth of his first-born he thus expresses himself; "I desire not great things for him in the world, but good things for his soul, in order to another and a better world." As his children advanced in life, so, if possible, he increased in holy anxiety for their welfare. Aware of the many temptations to which they were exposed, he watched over them with godly jealousy, encouraging every hopeful appearance of grace, and strenuously opposing their propensities to evil. Many a sleepless night did he spend on their account when absent from him. On one occasion when he had heard an unfavourable report of one of them, he says: "I could not sleep one wink that night; but in the morning God melted my heart, and gave me some relief. I wrote letter upon letter, not knowing where he was, and fearing further snares and temptations which added new vigour to my repeated prayers." At length he received a letter from his son, by which his heart was much comforted. On another and different occasion he thus describes his feelings: "Many a time I have poured out my soul to the Lord for my two sons, that God would grant them special grace and ministerial gifts, and make use of them.

God hath gone a considerable way in answering these prayers. I hope he hath given them a principle of saving grace, and employed them in families and congregations where their labours have been acceptable. Blessed be God for mercies thus far." His affectionate concern for his sons did not consist in mere expressions, but was evident throughout the whole of his conduct towards them, and he had the pleasure of seeing them comfortably settled in life, and usefully employed in the church.

As the *Master of a family*, he was very zealous in maintaining family religion. Besides the stated worship of God with his household morning and evening, he adopted other means to prove his determination that he and his house would serve the Lord.* Every individual in his family was, at family worship in the evening, expected to give an account of the sermons preached on the Lord's day. Sometimes he devoted special seasons for the purpose of family-covenanting, when each person was required in rotation to engage in the duty of prayer. The following is a description of the manner in which he conducted these services: "Oct. 18th, 1672. I resolved to spend some time in family exercise, as I had preached the week before from Zech. xii. 12, 'And the land shall mourn, every family apart.' Accordingly we set ourselves to it. I spoke something of family covenants to affect our hearts. My son Eliezer began, and prayed sweetly

* It is greatly to be lamented that family religion is so much neglected amongst professors of religion in the present day. The early Nonconformists were eminent for their attention to this important christian duty, and when properly observed it was crowned with remarkable success. See a beautiful picture of Family religion as described in the "Life of Philip Henry, enlarged edition, by J. B. Williams," page 73—86: and see the blessed effects in the history of the lives of his children.

and sensibly though short;* but John was both a good while, and prayed to my admiration, pleading with God, and using such expostulations as I wondered at with many tears. Then Martha, (the servant) prayed; then my wife, and then I concluded. O what a heart-melting evening was it! Blessed be God for the gift and spirit of prayer; they are worth a world!"

His conduct as a *Relative*, displayed both natural and christian affection. When in health he frequently visited his native county, not only on account of his civil concerns, but to promote the spiritual welfare of his relations. Those were very numerous, and during his visits he was much engaged in praying with them and preaching to them, that they might be saved. He often wrote letters to them on religious subjects, and when he published a book, presented each of his relatives with a copy.† When unable to take so long a journey, he was not unmindful of his distant relatives, but dedicated a small Treatise entitled "The Two Worlds," expressly to them. In the "Author's Epistle to his Relations in Lancashire," he thus addresses them: "I think no labour nor travel too much, to do your souls good; but it is now come to pass that I am superannuated, and much incapacitated for travelling into your parts. I have outlived all my brothers and sisters, and am, within few a days, seventy years of age, a much longer time than I expected to sojourn in this weary world, having been under the sentence of death by renewed fevers four times. How long this frail life will yet be prolonged I cannot tell.—My dear,

* Eliezer was at this time only fifteen, and John sixteen years of age.

† The Writer has seen lists of the names of persons to whom Mr. H. gave copies of his books, when published, and in some instances they amounted to near a hundred.

and beloved kindred, I can truly say with the blessed apostle, 'My heart's desire and prayer to God for you is, that you may be saved.' You cannot but know how many of our ancestors have died in the faith, and are gone to heaven. They have laid up many prayers in God's book, and put many tears in his bottle for their surviving posterity, which will have a resurrection either for your conversion, or for the aggravation of your sin and condemnation. Though you had godly relations and ancestors, yet remember grace is not hereditary. Many pious parents of whom we read in scripture, had wicked children. Remember you are all by nature the children of wrath, and unless you are born again you cannot see the kingdom of God."

Many had the happiness to call him their *Friend*, and on all occasions he was disposed to show himself friendly. He made those his chief companions on earth whose society he hoped to enjoy in the heavenly world. Next to communion with God he valued the company and conversation of his christian brethren. His friendship was of the most valuable nature. If any of his friends became distressed he was ready to relieve them according to his ability, or to use his influence with others on their behalf. If any were afflicted he made their case known to his Almighty Friend, who frequently sent remarkable answers to his supplications. Being a successful pleader at the throne of grace, his acquaintances so much valued his prayers, that sometimes he was engaged with them three or four days in a week, in observing days of fasting and prayer on account of their personal and domestic trials, or keeping days of thanksgiving for mercies bestowed. Mr. Dawson, his neighbour and most intimate companion, who had been ejected from Thornton chapel, often attended with him in these exercises, and was himself benefited by his

prayers. "Feb. 14th, 1684," Mr. Heywood says, "I went to visit my dear brother, Mr. Jos. Dawson, whom I found wonderfully recovered from a dangerous disease, which it was feared would prove mortal. My heart had been much affected with fears of losing so useful an instrument. God had drawn out my heart several times for him, especially at a solemn fast; and I was secretly persuaded from that time he would recover. I found him so much better this day that he desired me to praise God for him, which I did; and O what endeared meltings of heart did God excite in me for hearing prayer." If differences arose between friends, no one was more successful in the heavenly art of peace-making than he, several instances he records, among which is the following: "Dec. 1st, 1693, I preached a preparation sermon on Eph. v. 2, 'Walk in love.' I ordered J. Brooksbank, and A. Lea, two of our communicants to come to my house, with some other friends, that if possible we might accommodate their difference of some years standing. They began stoutly, and used hard words, but at last were made friends and appear cordial. It had cost me many thoughts of heart and earnest prayer." Mr. H. was so highly esteemed by those that knew him, that many of the excellent, and some of the honourable of the earth accounted it a privilege to rank him in the list of their most intimate friends.

His character as a *Subject* of the British government was peaceable, obedient, and loyal. There were many changes among the governors of this land in his days;* but he interfered in politics as little as possible in the circumstances in which he was placed. His

* The following singular inscription on the tombstone of John Okey, brother-in-law to Mr. Heywood by his second marriage, in Bolton churchyard, records some of those changes:—

sentiments were in favour of the Restoration, but he sanctioned no violent measures against the powers that governed during the Interregnum. When oppressive and cruel laws were enforced against the Nonconformists by the restored sovereign, he harboured no revenge, but patiently submitted to the evils inflicted. Gladly would his enemies have accused him as a rebel or traitor, if there had been the shadow of pretence; but they could not find any occasion against him except "concerning the law of his God." When James abdicated the throne, and William and Mary succeeded, he rejoiced at the event, as a friend of civil and religious liberty. Having suffered much for conscience' sake, he knew how to value the liberty then enjoyed, and felt gratitude for the privilege. He was very frequent and earnest in his prayers for the preservation of the king's life, and the peace of the land, and when either appeared in danger, he observed special seasons in public or private for imploring the divine protection.

The governing principle of Mr. Heywood's life and

"JOHN OKEY,

"The servant of God, was born in London, 1608, came to this town in 1629, married Mary the daughter of James Crompton, of Breightmet, 1635, with whom he lived comfortably twenty years, and begot four sons and six daughters. Since then he lived sole till the day of his death. In his time were many great changes, and terrible alterations. Eighteen years civil war in England, besides several dreadful sea-fights—the crown or command of England changed eight times, Episcopacy laid aside fourteen years. London burnt by Papists and more stately built again. Germany wasted 300 miles. 200,000 Protestants murdered by Papists in Ireland. This town thrice stormed—once taken and plundered. He went through many troubles, and divers conditions, found real joy and happiness only in holiness, the faith, fear, and love of God in Jesus Christ. He died the 29th of April, 1684, and lyeth here buried.

"Come, Lord Jesus, come quickly.

"Holiness is man's happiness."

conduct, and which constrains us in these remote days to venerate and love the man we never saw, was his *Religion.*

In his religious profession both as a Christian and a minister, he was eminent for the *spirituality* of his mind. It could be said of him as of Enoch, "he walked with God." Such was the influence of his daily communion with heaven, that common objects in life were made use of to spiritual purposes. "There is a circumstance," he observes on one occasion, "which though but small, hath some influence to help my devotion many times, it is this:—The cushion in my study, on which I kneel at prayer, hath the initials of my first wife's maiden name, E. A. which I usually see when going to prayer alone. It much quickens my heart to consider, not only how much she prayed alone and is now praising God in heaven, but also her enlarged prayers for me, still on the file in heaven; and also her serious persuading of me to the duty of secret prayer. It is not to tell how small a thing, if God give it effect, will stir up great emotions. Even the crowing of a cock could excite repentance in Peter." When for greater convenience he changed his place of study, he would not occupy it till he had first earnestly prayed for the consecrating presence of God. "Dec. 28th, 1675," he says, "I removed my books and goods out of my lower study into my new study in the meeting-place chamber, which is more convenient. At night, after my preaching and conference that day, I fell on my knees, and God helped me during good part of an hour to confess my sins in all the other places I had occupied, and to give him praise for the gracious visitations I had in my father's house, at Cambridge, Landimer, Godley, this house, Norwood-green, Coley-hall, and in my lower study; all these places I may

call Peniels, for I have seen God's face in them. I pleaded with God that I may come with a new heart, spend more time with him, and feel more of his grace. It was a sweet, heart-melting evening. O that God would hear my groans, accept my tears, and be with me still." These may appear but trifling occurrences and scarcely deserving notice, but it is in little things the real character of a man is best discovered, there being a greater temptation to appear what we are not when the eyes of men are upon us, than when no one is acquainted with our thoughts and actions but God and ourselves. Many similar instances might be selected from his private papers, for the spirituality of his mind was not like a meteor, which appears only occasionally and for a short time, but, like the lamp in the ancient temple—always burning. At particular times it shone with a greater degree of lustre than at others, but it was his earnest desire it might always be brilliant. For this purpose, he drew up, "Rules of Practice, which," he says, "I desire to charge upon my own base heart in the course of my life. 1. Be serious, whether short or long, in all religious exercises. Do thy best in the best works. Trifle not in any thing, much less in the duties of religion. 2. Have special regard to thy thoughts; and what thou art afraid to do before men, be afraid to think before God. Study thy heart most; and regard that pure eye which discerns heart-workings. 3. Let thy heart be composed in all states. Be set aside by nothing. O for a holy state of soul, that it may be under the power of nothing beneath itself! Nothing can be worth the loss of a quiet spirit. 4. Be catholic both in principle and practice; neither confine thy love to a party, nor thy obedience to one or more duties. Partiality is a mark of hypocrisy; universality, of sincerity. 5. Be con-

tent with witnesses above and within. Do thy best work invisibly to men. Let duties be done without outward encouragements, yea, against discouragements. Be better before God than before men. 6. Let special corruptions be crossed by peculiar grace and watchfulness; and make the best fence where the hedge is lowest. Bend against thy inclination; and mortify that sin which opposeth thy soul's peace and safety. 7. Study self-denial; it is the highest and hardest lesson of the Christian: whatever excellencies thou hast they are ciphers without this. 8. Conceive of things now as thou wilt judge of them at death and judgment, or when trouble and sickness or sad accidents befall thee. The best way of happiness is not to be anxious about sublunary things, but to cure thy conceit of them. 9. Get thy will subdued to God's. Learn to do his will, or thou wilt not be able to bear it. Bear the yoke of commands, or thou wilt not be able to bear the yoke of thy cross. Let nothing displease thee that pleaseth God, nor any thing please thee that displeaseth him. 10. Pray most for those that hate thee worst, for they need it most; and let those coals of love fall on their heads and hearts. Long for their conversion. God is the God of vengeance, therefore meddle not with his prerogative. The injured side is the safer side."

One of the most effectual means by which the spirituality of his mind was preserved, was the frequency of his approaches to the throne of grace. He was indeed a *man of prayer;* like Jacob, "he wept and made supplication." The public and social duties of his office, as a minister, did not make him forgetful of his privilege as a Christian. His study was not only the place in which he made preparation for the services of the sanctuary, but his closet in which he maintained intercourse with his heavenly Father, who

seeth in secret. While offering the language of prayer, he frequently entered into its spirit, and being brought to the gate of heaven, he was unwilling to leave it to attend to the concerns of this sinful world; this may account for the frequency and length of his secret devotions.*

He was deeply conscious of his unworthiness of the least of God's mercies, and therefore received with much *gratitude* the many favours he enjoyed, particularly when sent in answer to prayer. His heart was not "the grave of forgetfulness, but the altar of praise." While pursuing his journey to the heavenly rest he made frequent stoppages, not only to ask for grace to persevere to the end, but also to raise Ebenezers of thanksgiving to that God who had hitherto helped him. He paid particular attention to the exhortation of the apostle: "By prayer and supplication, with thanksgiving, let your requests be made known unto God." He watched for seasonable opportunities, proper subjects, and answers of prayer, and in a book recorded what he considered remarkable "Returns of prayer."† He often regarded the state of the weather, and mentions several instances of successful pleading on this behalf. "In the autumn of 1698," he says, "after a very cold summer there was excessively wet weather, so that corn did not ripen and people could not reap, though there was a plentiful crop on the

* It was not an uncommon thing for him to be engaged nearly an hour in secret devotion. His piece on "Closet Prayer," has been deservedly esteemed, and has passed through several editions. It is a subject on which he was well qualified to write, because it was one he constantly practised.

† From this MS. many extracts have been given in the account of his life. The general nature of the MS. proves he was an attentive observer of Providence; what are frequently termed common mercies, excited in him special notice and thanksgiving.

ground. Corn arose from 24s. to 34s. a load. The poor bought peas and beans to make bread, the heavens continued to pour down rain, and there was a great outcry. It pleased God to put it into my heart to appoint a public fast at the chapel, on Oct. 6th. I obtained the help of Mr. J. Bairstow. Many people came, and God made it a good day so that our hearts were much drawn out in prayer. He preached on 2 Chron. vii. 14. and I on Matt. vi. 11. It was a happy day, and the people were much affected. God made that promise good: 'It shall come to pass that before they call I will answer.' The day before, it cleared up and was a pleasant and sun-shiny day, and it hath continued almost three weeks good harvest weather."

Mr. Heywood often attended to the important work of *self-examination*. This constituted a chief part of his employment on the return of his baptismal day, and was carefully observed on the Friday or Saturday before the sabbath on which he administered the Lord's supper. Beside these periodical seasons, he embraced other opportunities of attending to this solemn duty when he felt his mind so disposed; and generally he found his reward in his work. "Feb. 29th, 1676," he writes, "I designed to spend some considerable time by myself in heart searching, humbling my soul, and secret prayer; but visiting some sick persons in the afternoon, I was hindered till five o'clock. Then went to my study, and read Psal. lxxi, with which my heart was wonderfully affected. Afterwards I confessed my sins with their aggravations, and poured out my soul for pardon, in which God wonderfully helped me with many tears. I pleaded for the conversion of souls, and for my children, wherein my feelings were very strong. While I was pleading for them in the bitterness of my soul, that scripture came

to my mind in the Psalm I had been reading: 'But I will hope continually, and yet praise thee more and more;' especially the last clause, which supported my spirit wonderfully. O that it may be verified! Thus God helped me above an hour in my wrestliug with him."

By *watchfulness* over his own spirit he often detected the risings of pride, and mourned over them when others were not conscious of their activity. The following quotations illustrate the remark. "April 1st, 1672, B. Boys's wife at Halifax, being sick, I was sent for to visit her. I went after dinner, and having discoursed and prayed with her, and visited several friends I returned home. As I came by Halifax Bank-top, my horse stumbled amongst some rough stones and fell down; my leg was under him, but I felt no hurt: blessed be God! it was a wonderful preservation. Afterwards I reflected on what I was thinking about when I fell, and recollected I had been thinking of the great companies that had come from Halifax to Coley the day before, and was pleasing myself with imagining what a great assembly I should have, if God would grant me liberty in the chapel. Methinks it was a seasonable correction of my pride, it did me good in after meditation, and gave me occasion to think on Prov. xvi. 18. Blessed be God for this gracious correction of my pride and preservation of my body." "Jan. 27th, 1674. My house was paved, and my heart was too much taken up with the convenience and neatness of my habitation. I mispent too much time in looking over the workmen, and began to please myself with worldly accommodations. At night, in family prayer, I judged myself and confessed my sin. God graciously enlarged my heart, and enabled me to give up house and all I have to him; O what a melting duty it was!

My heart fully resigned up all I have, if God should call me to leave it by death, banishment, imprisonment, or confiscation. I hope I can truly say, that I am as willing to part with all for my Lord's sake as I ever was to receive it. Blessed be God that this temptation ended with a conquest." "Lord's day, August, 1677, I was to preach at Leeds for Mr. Stretton.* In the morning, at E. Hickson's, there was a great number of people, at which my heart was puffed up. In the afternoon, multitudes came to the new meeting-place, and my spirit was too highly exalted with vain, popular applause. The people said there were more than had been seen in it since it was built. On Monday, God helped me to compose a letter to Mr. Stretton, and at a meeting it was subscribed to by the people: I thought it well done. I was still more advanced with high conceits of myself when many came to see me. Several invited me to their houses to dinner, and on Wednesday, at the lecture, there was a great assembly of various denominations. These things did too much tickle me with vain-glorious opinions of myself, so that I came home on Thursday with overweening thoughts. But reflecting on these things the morning after in my retirement, I fell on my knees and humbled myself for the pride of my heart; and

* Mr. Stretton was born at Claybrook, in Leicesterhire, about 1632, and was ejected from Petworth, in Sussex. He became chaplain to Lord Fairfax, who brought him into Yorkshire. Upon the death of his patron, he removed to Leeds, where he exercised his ministry about seventeen years, and from thence to London, where he gathered a congregation that met for worship in the Haberdashers'-Hall. He had his share in the afflictions of the Nonconformists, but lived to enjoy the benefit of the Toleration Act. He died, July 3, 1712. His funeral sermon was preached by Mr. Henry, from 2 Cor. viii. 16.—See Nonconformists' Memorial, vol. iii. p. 326.—Wilson's History of Dissenting Churches, vol. iii. pp. 129—133.

God debased me in my own eyes. O what a wretch am I that can be so soon swelled with popular applause! Lord, pardon me. But for all this admiration, not all those people at that rich place bestowed so much as a penny on me, except one woman; God seeing not fit that I should have both profit and honour at once, lest I should be exalted above measure, convincing me withal, of how little avail vulgar praise is towards necessary supplies; but no matter for either, so that good may be done."

The most spiritual and holy persons are generally most distinguished for *humility*. It pleased God to favour Mr. Heywood with abundant spiritual enjoyments, so that he could say, "there are few days when I am at home, but God and my soul meet in secret." But the nearer and more frequent his approaches were to the pure and glorious God, the more was he abased in himself. He was so sensible of the exceeding depravity of the human heart, that he made use of the most humiliating expressions concerning himself when addressing God in prayer.* In the renewal of his

* "Christians are often ridiculed for speaking of themselves in depreciating terms; especially when they call themselves, the vilest of the vile, or the chief of sinners. It is admitted and lamented that such language may be insufferable cant; and is sometimes used by persons, who give ample evidence of their not believing it. When show is a substitute for reality, it is generally excessive. Many fish for praise with the bait of humility, and say things against themselves in hopes that you will contradict them; but we trust you never will. It is otherwise with a real Christian; he speaks according to his real views and feelings. He does not, however, mean that he has been the greatest profligate: but he knows that sin is to be estimated by its guilt; not by its grossness; and he knows more of himself than he can of others. He can only see the actions of others, and not the greater part even of them; but he can look into his own heart. He knows not but the sins of others will admit of extenuation; and he ought

personal covenant, at the close of the year 1698, after observing that in his acts of charity he generally aimed at the tenth part of his income, he makes the following remarks: "And now, O my soul, what hast thou to boast of? Just nothing. Let my sins be set against my duties, and they will exceed them to an infinite extent. If I have done any thing that is good, it is not I, but the grace of God in me. Alas, 'the good that I would, I do not; but the evil that I would not, that I do.' There are abundant defects in my best duties, and I dare not stand by the holiest of my performances for my justification. It is well if I be found worthy in a gospel sense; for I have carried a bad heart with me to all I have done, I have failed both in the manner and end, and when I have done all, I am an unprofitable servant. Woe is me! How much pride, hardness, deadness, unbelief, security, and distraction cleave to me! Men see my outward acts, but none see my inward frames; men would scarcely believe what a world of sin lodgeth under a fair show. It is well if sin hath not dominion over me; I am sure it hath great possession of me, and my iniquity often preponderates over my piety; I dare not trust to my own righteousness. Lord, forgive the sins of my prayers. I must weep over my tears, yet that weeping will make God no compensation. My omissions are more than my performances; yea, the evil of my performances is often, I fear, far more than the good in them. I am cast and condemned if the new testament Aaron do not bear the iniquity of my holy things. I depend only on Christ's sacrifice for satisfaction to justice, and on his intercession for the

to be willing, as far as possible to excuse; but he knows against what light and advantages his *own* transgressions have been committed."—*Jay's Short Discourses, vol. iv. p.* 290—291.

acceptance of my person and performances; there I rest, there I centre my soul. I am nothing, I can do nothing, and deserve nothing but wrath. If ever God save me, it is grace, free grace, infinite grace; I will crown grace only, coming to me through the merits of Jesus Christ."

As a believer, he enjoyed the benefit of a steady and strong *faith*. When deeply humbled before God, under a sense of guilt, the enemy of souls was not permitted to tempt him to unbelief; but he applied afresh to the blood of sprinkling. The fulness, freeness, and efficacy of the Saviour's merits were subjects on which he delighted to dwell, and where these are cordially believed, it is impossible that the soul can despair. He knew in whom he had believed, and having committed the important concerns of his soul to God, and enjoying frequent communion with him, he was not afraid to trust him also with the management of his temporal affairs. Scriptural confidence, like every other spiritual grace, improves by exercise. His faith, though often tried, never ultimately failed him. His outward circumstances, particularly in the first years of persecution, were sometimes very low, and when almost destitute and human expectations proved abortive, God raised up friends and sent him relief at times and from places the most unlikely. When common mercies are received, as answers to believing prayers, they are increased in value almost beyond calculation. The whole history of Mr. H. abounds with proofs, that as he attentively observed the hand of providence, so that providence was not unmindful of him. Sometimes, when in great difficulties, his conduct was influenced by the powerful impressions of his mind: and what an esteemed preacher says of another venerable servant of Christ,

may with great propriety be applied to the subject of this memoir: "He was sober-minded, cautious, and prudent; yet it is certain, that in some of the most eventful circumstances of his life, his decision resulted very much at the time from a forcible impulse of mind, which he could not feel himself at liberty to resist, and which indeed was fully satisfactory to himself. It is equally certain, that in taking these steps, he had no reason to repent; but was abundantly convinced by the consequences, that they were of God. We must not limit the Holy One of Israel, nor yet be wise above what is written. Common Christians can hardly understand the peculiar advantages that arise from exalted spirituality of mind, and the most intimate degree of devotedness to, and communion with, God."*

Mr. Heywood soon after his ejectment in 1662, was much straitened in his worldly circumstances; but in the latter part of his life his situation was rendered comfortable. He did not rise to affluence, but with what some persons would consider a small income, he exercised great *liberality*. In him was proved the truth of that scripture: "The liberal deviseth liberal things, and by liberal things shall he stand." At the close of the year 1697, he thus writes: "I think I am put to more charges than any minister. My house standing near my synagogue, there is scarcely a Lord's day but I have six, eight, or ten persons at dinner at my table, besides many others who have bread and broth. On sacrament days, which are every eight weeks, we have usually about twenty that eat with us. Any one would think this course could not be tolerated. To this I must reply, (which is a wonder to myself,) that notwithstanding this and the frequent

* Jay's Life of Winter, page 360.

acts of charity I am called to, yet I perceive I grow richer. It may be said, how can all this be done out of my small income? I have some yearly rents coming in from Lancashire, about £14. a-year. £7. a-year from Sowerby; and of late, £7. 15s. from Holdsworth. Lady Hewley hath usually given me £5. a-year, and Lord Wharton, £3. Sometimes I have something given me when I travel abroad, though old age hath lately cut me off from that occasional supply. Sometimes I have something for funeral sermons, and other gifts dropping in, sent by the wise providence of God to encourage my faith. I have also a notable, prudent, provident wife, who manageth matters both frugally and handsomely, and makes a little go a great way; besides, I spend nothing wastefully. But the blessing of God is the main thing that maketh rich and addeth not sorrow; this I have found by abundant experience many years. Some, who have had five times my income, have been in great straits. Mrs. Hyde said to my father Angier, surely God works miracles at your table, for if I were to set twice as much provision before such a company they would think they were famished. This is like the woman's barrel of meal and cruise of oil. Blessed be God, that though I have not planned and plodded about worldly matters, yet the Lord hath wonderfully supplied me. O for a thankful heart and a fruitful life."

As a minister of the gospel, Mr. Heywood's *talents* made him eminent among those "that turn many to righteousness." He sometimes lamented the weakness of his natural capacity, and regretted he had not paid a closer attention in his youthful days to philosophical pursuits: "I prize learning," he says, "above all sublunary excellencies, and I might have been more

useful had I improved my time better therein." If he did not excel as a profound mathematician, an acute reasoner, or a critical linguist, he was a "scribe well instructed unto the kingdom of heaven;" and if he could not be compared to the man who had five talents, he carefully employed to the glory of God those with which his Lord had entrusted him. All his attainments were subservient to the "perfecting of the saints, the work of the ministry, and the edifying of the body of Christ." In directing the attention of men to the important concerns of their souls, whether in the parlour or pulpit, at the sick bed or from the press, he felt himself at home. Living in the daily enjoyment of spiritual godliness himself, his preaching and writings were mostly on experimental and practical subjects. He was well acquainted with the human heart, and much of his usefulness proceeded from his powerful and affectionate addresses to the consciences of men. He also possessed the happy art of illustrating divine truths by interesting anecdotes, by which the attention of his hearers was more excited, and the subjects more deeply impressed on their understanding and memory.*

* Mr. Job Orton in a letter addressed to the late Mr. Hughes, of Bury, says: "The life of Mr. Heywood is worth your perusal, as he seems to have been a very considerable man for his age.—I could wish you to borrow of your congregation any books of their old divines, who lived in Lancashire and the neighbourhood, which they have in their houses. Some of them are extremely valuable, as those of Pendlebury, Nath. and Oliver Heywood, Alred, &c. They were men of distinguished ability, and eminent piety and zeal. Though some of their sentiments are indefensible, and their language low and mean, yet there is a savour of piety, seriousness, and concern for the interests of religion, and so much experience of human nature, and the workings of the heart, as are hardly to be met with in any modern compositions. There are also many little and instructive and striking stories, which may

His method of preaching partook of the peculiarities of the age in which he lived, and would not perhaps be generally acceptable in these days. He delivered good and wholesome truths in a plain, homely manner. One peculiar excellence may be observed in his writings, which contained the substance of what he preached, namely, a constant aim at *simplicity*. He endeavoured to make himself understood by all whom he addressed, fully persuaded that a person cannot be benefitted by what he does not understand. "If his preaching," says Dr. Fawcett, "might, by himself, be called talking, it was talking to the purpose: and such a mode of preaching is perhaps better suited to the capacities of a common audience than a more smooth and polished manner of address, which, though it may please the ear and gratify the taste of persons of refinement, is not so well calculated to answer the great end of preaching. A free and familiar address quickens the attention, arouses the conscience, and comes home to the heart of the hearers."* He who spake as never man spake, has given his ministers a perfect model of the manner of preaching. In his discourses, the most important and glorious truths are illustrated by natural objects, and thus brought down in parables to the capacities of the young and ignorant. The great apostle to the Gentiles asserts, that he would rather speak five words with his understanding, that he might teach others, than ten thousand words in an unknown tongue. This was also Mr. Heywood's determination,

be well adopted, and would render a discourse in which they are introduced popular, pleasing, and useful."—*Orton's Letters to Dissenting Ministers, vol. i. page* 113, 114.

* Similar observations are to be found in the interesting Life of Philip Henry, concerning *his* method of preaching. See his life enlarged and corrected by J. B. Williams, page 192.

and contributed much to the general acceptance and usefulness of his ministry.

In attending to the duties of his office as a minister of Christ, he manifested great *fervour of spirit*. His heart was in his work, and therefore he spoke and acted as a man in earnest. His many and severe persecutions would have been to some a strong temptation to neglect ministerial employment, at least, when most exposed to dangers; but having set his hand to the plough, he could not think of looking back: necessity was laid upon him to preach the gospel, and the love of Christ constrained him. Tears were often mingled with his intercessions at the throne of grace, especially when engaged in social exercises and in seasons of persecution or trial; and while they showed how much his own heart was affected, produced a similar influence on others. When preaching the gospel of the kingdom, he could say, "that which we have seen and heard declare we unto you, that ye also may have fellowship with us; and truly our fellowship is with the Father, and with his Son Jesus Christ." He felt the vast importance of the work in which he was engaged, and was convinced that his Master in heaven would require him to give an account of his stewardship; with these impressions he could not but be fervent. He knew that the everlasting happiness or misery of the souls of the people depended on their acceptance or rejection of the gospel, he therefore so studied and preached as to save himself and those that heard him. To some, his fervour of spirit may appear bordering on enthusiasm, but having learnt the value of his own soul, he thought nothing he could do or suffer too much to "save a soul from death, and hide a multitude of sins."

His nonconformity was an evidence of his *conscien-*

tiousness. He was a lover of peace, but would not sacrifice what appeared to him to be truth for the sake of outward ease. The temptation to conformity was very powerful, but it had no prevailing influence on him. At the time the Act of Uniformity passed, he observed: "There are carnal advantages enough to sway to conformity, did not conscience answer all the pleas of flesh and blood. At present, our work is to be well satisfied with the ground of our suffering; the conditions are two hard to be accepted." Twenty-one years after his ejectment, he says: "I am so fully satisfied that my nonconformity as a minister is the way of God, and I have so much peace in my spirit that what I do in the main is according to God's word, that if I knew of all these troubles beforehand and were to begin again, I would persist in this course to my dying day." When driven from the public exercise of his ministry by his ejectment, and prevented attending public ordinances by his excommunication, he resolved to preach occasionally in his own house on the Lord's day, to those of his former hearers who were willing to attend. He did not, however, form this resolution without the most serious examination and prayer, nor until he was persuaded it was the will of God.

Such was Mr. Heywood's *disinterestedness*, that the prospect of suffering or fatigue never diverted him from the path of duty. Though his income from the people among whom he laboured was very small, and he was the means of obtaining pecuniary relief for some of his poor brethren, he sought none for himself. After giving an account of various sums he had received from Lord Wharton's executors, to distribute among different ministers in his neighbourhood or of his acquaintance, he remarks: "All this, and much

more is given to other ministers, but nothing to myself; and, indeed, it is not because I have been denied, but because I have not asked any thing, yet I am apt to think that there are scarce any of them but receive more from their people than I do." When he was invited to large and opulent congregations he resolved to spend the remainder of his days in the neighbourhood where he had so long laboured with success. Whenever an opportunity of preaching the unsearchable riches of Christ presented itself he cheerfully embraced it, though sometimes the expenses of his journey were greater than the intended remuneration. Many instances of this nature might be selected from his MSS. similar to the following: "March 28th, 1692, I rode to preach at J. R.'s in Haworth town. God greatly assisted my heart in weeping and wrestling with him for the conversion of sinners, and in preaching on Isaiah lv. 7. There was a great crowd of people and they were attentive. Who knows what good may be done? The same day, being Easter Monday, the Vicar of Bradford sat all day in an alehouse, gathering his dues in Haworth parish. There was wont always to be a sermon in the church that day, but Mr. P. had laid it aside. Many flocked to him to pay the Easter reckonings, which came to about £10. and then came to hear me: I had nothing for my pains, except some four or five put sixpence a-piece into my hand. I rode fourteen miles there and back, and was greatly comforted in my day's work, and thought it was better than his. Though my worldly gains were short, yet, may I gain one soul to Christ by my hard labour, and I shall be satisfied.

Mr. Heywood possessed too great a sense of the value of time and the important nature of his office to be inactive. He considered his abilities and oppor-

tunities of usefulness as talents to be employed with *diligence* in his Master's service. He spent much of his time in his study, partly for the promotion of the life of religion in his soul, and partly to furnish himself with proper materials for the work in which he was engaged. It was his custom to rise at an early hour and devote a considerable portion of time to secret duty, in which he not only prayed, but read two and sometimes three chapters in successive order. He was assiduous in the pursuit of knowledge, but all his attainments were consecrated on the altar of God. His method in his pulpit preparations, was, after he had chosen a text, to implore divine direction in composing a large skeleton; these notes he generally took with him into the pulpit, leaving himself at liberty to make use of any ideas or modes of expression that might be suggested at the time of delivery. His diligence was not confined to his study, and he could not be classed among some good men who are "laboriously doing nothing." Considering the peculiar circumstances in which he was placed, few ministers have exceeded him in the number of his engagements and labours in the gospel. He was a preacher fifty-two years, and only about half that number were years of liberty. From a regular statement it appears, that from 1665, at which time the conventicle act passed, till 1701 inclusive, a term of thirty-seven years, seventeen of which only were years of public liberty, and most of them after he had reached sixty years of age, he preached on *week-days*, besides his regular work on the Lord's day, 3027 sermons, kept 1256 fasts, observed 314 thanksgiving days, and travelled on preaching excursions 31,345 miles.

A Statement of the Sermons preached by Mr. Heywood on the Week Days, the Fasts and Thanksgiving Days he observed, and the Number of Miles he travelled in his Master's Service in each Year.

A. D.	Serms.	Fsts.	Tkgs.	Trvlled.	A. D.	Serms.	Fsts.	Tkgs.	Trvlled.
1665*a*	26	18	3	600	1684	126	51	7	746
1666*b*	60	20	3	700	1685*f*	74	8	—	70
1667	89	20	7	900	1686	132	37	15	1004
1668	69	18	3	700	1687	124	44	15	1400
1669*c*	48	16	4	600	1688*g*	132	42	14	1300
1670	53	20	8	530	1689*h*	131	34	8	1358
1671	55	29	5	870	1690*i*	135	40	17	1100
1672*d*	62	28	8	728	1691*k*	103	37	11	833
1673	69	30	3	1070	1692*l*	97	49	14	966
1674	72	33	5	910	1693	109	35	12	841
1675*e*	48	—	—	1097	1694*m*	90	38	17	735
1676	67	56	12	1052	1695*n*	70	38	5	700
1677	60	40	8	1198	1696*o*	85	34	15	700
1678	64	50	4	1034	1697*p*	82	40	15	700
1679	77	52	7	1386	1698*q*	78	34	16	410
1680	91	53	8	1250	1699*r*	67	36	9	300
1681	105	50	9	1400	1700*s*	45	22	3	157
1682	100	41	12	1100	1701*t*	23	14	5	
1683	109	49	7	900					

a This was the year after the passing of the Conventicle Act, when Mr. Heywood commenced his account of his itinerant labours, &c.

b The Five-mile Act took place this year.

c A proclamation was published this year requiring Justices strictly to enforce the laws against the Nonconformists.

d Licenses were granted this year.

e The licenses were recalled in the spring of this year.

f This year Mr. Heywood was confined in York Castle. He had liberty to preach in his chamber while confined, and his only journeys were to and from York.

g The year of the glorious Revolution. Mr. H. was now in his sixtieth year. From this time he kept a register of the children he baptized, who amounted this year to the number of 22.

h Baptized 21 children.

i Baptized 29 children.

k Mr. H. was confined two months to his house by sickness this year. Baptized 20 children.

l Baptized 20 children.

His reasons for making and occasionally reviewing this account are thus expressed: "1. That I might in this respect number my days, according to Psal. xc. 12; at least to know thereby how my time passeth, which I find is quicker than I was aware, and that I might reflect on what I have done or misdone in my past days. 2. That I may act in some way suitably to God's dispensations: thou tellest my wanderings, Psal. lvi. 8. If my Lord takes notice of my wanderings, shall not I? God reckoned Israel's wilderness stages, and required them to remember them, Deut. viii. 2. 3. God's servants in scripture, have reckoned their travels and voyages, and what befell them; as Jacob, Gen. xlviii. 7—16. Paul, 2 Cor. xi. 23—27. And I may say something, through grace of my labours, though far short of blessed Paul's. 4. This may vindicate our persons and work in the sight of men, who asperse us for idleness, and say, they wonder what we do, and think we have easy lives; in this we can appeal to our Lord. 5. Hereby appears the strange providence of God in crossing men's designs; they shut our mouths, but God opens them wider; they scatter, but God gathers people; they confine, but God enlargeth; they banish, but God makes every place a Bethel: thus Satan is outshot by his own bow; Gen. l. 20. Deut. xxiii. 5. 6. The review of past provi-

m Baptized 22 children, and wrote several Treatises.

n Wrote six Treatises, and printed two.

o Wrote six Treatises, but printed none except Job's Appeal.

p Wrote four Treatises, but printed none—also, one hundred Letters.

q Wrote four Treatises and one hundred and twenty-three Letters. Attended six meetings of ministers.

r Wrote four Treatises and one hundred and twenty Letters.

s Wrote seven Treatises and one hundred and forty seven Letters.

t Unable to travel. Baptized eight children. Attended eight conferences. Wrote seven Treatises and one hundred and four Letters.

dences may afterwards be of singular use to my own soul, in humbling my heart, making me trust in God for the future, and teaching me not to despair in greater straits whatever may befall me, since the same God is all-sufficient; Lam. iii. 19, 20. 2 Cor. i. 7, 8. 7. There is a necessity for setting my accounts straight, and taking a review of my life and actings, for God will call me to an account of my stewardship, as to the improving of my gifts and spending of my time. O! that I could keep right reckoning, and say as God's servants, Isaiah xxxviii. 3. 2 Cor. i. 12. 8. By these means I discover and consider where I have been sowing the seed of the word, and how it comes up, what fruit it brings forth. My case is parallel to theirs, mentioned Matt. x. 23. I remain but a short time in one place; but O that any fruit may remain! It may be, fruit will appear when I am gone; John iv. 37, 38. x. 41, 42. 9. This may be an example to my sons, to quicken them to diligence in their Master's work, since they also are devoted to God, and are now engaged in his service. In me they may read a monument of divine providence. Though turned out by men, yet taken in by God, and as much employed as ever. Should they be debarred of service in one place, God will open a door in another, and if God cut out work he will bestow a reward; though I am most unworthy, yet I can say as Paul did, 1 Cor. xi. 1. 1 Thess. ii. 1—11. 10. What I act or declare herein, I aim at God's glory chiefly, who hath called me by his grace to the ministry, provided work for me, given me a heart to embrace calls to do my Lord service, strength of body and mind, some pleasing success, and caused my troubles for the gospel to tend to its furtherance, and that I may be of some use in my generation, Phil. i. 12. 1 Cor. x. 31."

Mr. Heywood's *doctrinal sentiments* were, what are usually called, Evangelical or Calvinistic. The truths Mr. H. embraced were held by him not as forming a system of opinions, but as being operative principles. He knew very well the intimate connexion between scriptural doctrines and evangelical obedience, and while he carefully maintained the former, he did not neglect to enforce the latter. His zeal, devotion, and perseverance in the cause of religious truth and liberty, were the genuine fruits of the holy doctrines he believed and preached. His religious sentiments were in unison with those that were professed by the majority of the ejected ministers. While these holy men lived and laboured, sinners were converted from the errors of their ways, "and the Lord added to the church daily such as should be saved." Where the same truths have been maintained similar effects have followed; but in most of the places, erected by these servants of God and consecrated by his presence to bless their labours, a lamentable change has taken place: and the following are suggested as some of the probable causes of this departure from the ancient faith.

The unhappy dispute concerning the trinity, which commenced at Exeter, in 1717, and spread its contagious influence among the dissenting churches, was the apparent and proximate cause; but the effects of that contest would have been local, and its influence transient, had there not been other causes antecedent and subsequent. The method of preaching that was almost generally adopted, about the conclusion of the seventeenth and the commencement of the eighteenth centuries, prepared the way for the introduction of *anti-evangelical* sentiments. To avoid the errors attributed to Dr. Crisp's writings, many of the dissenting ministers, particularly among the Presbyterians, cou-

fined themselves almost exclusively to practical subjects; or if at any time they ventured to introduce the doctrines of grace into their discourses, they were only partially exhibited lest they should be abused. Thus a species of moral preaching, not founded on scripture doctrines nor enforced by evangelical motives, became almost universal; the result was, the principal doctrines of the gospel were not sufficiently valued, because not properly understood, and a channel was made for the inundation of the dissenting churches by erroneous sentiments. "If persons will not trace by reasoning," says a popular preacher,* "the connexion there is between (evangelical) principles and practice they may appeal to facts, and learn that these truths have had the best influence over the heart and life. The conclusion is obvious, 'Do men gather grapes from thorns, or figs from thistles?' It is natural to suppose, that divine truth will have a powerful influence over those who truly embrace it: we know that the gospel is a doctrine according to godliness: we are sure that when it was originally delivered, it awakened in men a supreme concern for the salvation of the soul, induced them to forsake this present evil world, and filled them with zeal to be useful to others: it turned them from dumb idols to serve the living God, and to wait for his Son from heaven, even Jesus, who delivered us from the wrath to come; to worship God in the spirit, and rejoice in Christ Jesus, and have no confidence in the flesh; to account all things but loss for the excellency of the Redeemer's knowledge, and constrained by his love to live, not unto themselves, but to him that died for them and rose again. This is a very brief and imperfect relation of the effects of evangelical doctrine upon those who heard the gospel

* Mr. Jay.

at first; but it is sufficient for our purpose. It may be well to ask, what kind of preaching in our day produces the same kind of living? Wherever it is found, it has the signature of deity upon it; and nothing but ignorance and inattention can deny the importance of it."

If the immediate successors of the ejected worthies had manifested the same zeal in maintaining the principal doctrines of the gospel as their predecessors, the purity of that faith once delivered to the saints, would have been preserved entire, and the prosperity of the dissenting churches would have been continued. But instead of a scriptural exhibition of the peculiarities of the gospel, and a faithful application of them to the hearts and consciences of men, they entertained their hearers with mere moral essays or philosophical harangues, and were more concerned to display their learning than win souls to Christ. A minister, well acquainted with the dissenting interest in the last century, and distinguished by his moderate principles, saw, and thus lamented these evils: "I do deliberately think, that the more persons enter into the peculiarities of the gospel, and the greater regard they pay to the sacrifice of Christ and the influences of the Holy Spirit, the more their own piety will increase, and the more zealous they will be to do good to the souls of men: and I believe it is not difficult to account for this."— "I have long since found, and every year I live increases my conviction of it, that when ministers entertain their hearers with lively and pretty things, and confine themselves to general harangues, insist principally on moral duties, without enforcing them by evangelical motives; while they neglect the peculiars of the gospel, never or seldom display the grace of God and love of Christ in our redemption, the neces-

sity of regeneration and sanctification by, and constant dependence on, the Holy Spirit of God for assistance and strength in the duties of the christian life,—their congregations are in a wretched state. This is the case with several in this neighbourhood, where there are not now as many scores, as there were hundreds, in their meeting-places fifty years ago. But where by trade and manufactures new persons come to the places and fill up the vacant seats, there is a fatal deadness spread over the congregation, they run in the course of the world, follow every fashionable folly, and family and personal godliness seem in general to be lost among them. There is scarcely any appearance of life and zeal in the cause of religion, which demands and deserves the greatest. Whereas on the contrary, I never knew an instance where the minister was a pious, serious man, whose strain of preaching was evangelical and affectionate, but his congregation kept up, though death and removals had made many breaches in it."* The progress of error in the Nonconformist churches has generally been gradual, first to arminianism, then to arianism, and finally to socinianism or scepticism. This lamentable change, though progressive, has been rapid. Perhaps no set of men, in the whole period of the christian church, ever resembled the apostles so much as the ejected ministers, but none, calling themselves christian preachers, ever approached so near deism as some who profess to be their successors.

Another cause of the evil complained of may be traced to the character of the individuals, introduced into the office of the christian ministry, and the nature of their preparatory education. The most essential qualification of a minister of the gospel is personal

* Job Orton's Letters, vol. i. pp. 90, 100, and 101.

and experimental religion. An unlearned ministry may expose the cause of Christianity to the contempt of the world, but an unsanctified priesthood will ensure the displeasure of the Almighty. Neither learning nor abilities can compensate for the absence of genuine godliness. The religion of Jesus is the religion of the heart, and if a man be a stranger to a renewed heart, whatever other qualifications he may possess, he is unfit for the service of the sanctuary. He has to tell others of the love of Christ; but how can he describe it unless it has been shed abroad in his heart? He has to discourse on the hopes and fears, the joys and sorrows of a believer; but how can he discharge this duty with comfort to himself and benefit to others, if he has never felt these sensations? *A man must be a Christian, before he can be a christian minister.* This simple but important maxim was not sufficiently observed by the first dissenters. Ministers often encouraged their sons to entertain thoughts of the ministerial office without decisive evidence of their spiritual experience. The father might be warmly attached to the cause of Christ and of souls, and sharing in the success which in those days often attended the exertions of those holy men of God, would naturally desire he might have a son to carry on the work, when he had entered the joy of his Lord. It is no wonder, that a father's partiality should mistake apparent seriousness and a capacity for praying and conversing on religious subjects, acquired by habit, for real religion and a call to the ministry. When the fierceness of persecution was abated, and dissent was acknowledged and established by the Toleration Act, the nonconformist ministry was considered a respectable profession, and, though the temptation was not

great as a lucrative undertaking, some might enter on the priests' office for a morsel of bread. Sometimes pious parents, considering it an honour to have a child devoted to the service of the sanctuary, sent a son to a dissenting academy, who had no other recommendation than an aptness to receive human instruction. Such, not having the power of godliness and not much of its form, would fall an easy prey to the seducing power of error.

In endeavouring to account for the admission and prevalence of heterodoxy among the early dissenters, we must not omit to notice the manner in which their colleges were conducted. They were simply places of learning, in which students in divinity and persons intended for secular employments were associated, and open for the admission of youth whose friends were able and disposed to send them. If young men designed for the ministry went to such places without the grace of God, they were not likely to become very pious while there, and the habits and conversation of worldly youth would not promote the growth of grace in those that possessed it. A respectable minister who had been both a student and tutor in the Northampton academy, thus wrote to a correspondent: "I hear Dr. Ashworth has so many parlour boarders this year, that he is enlarging his house in order to accommodate them. I had rather have heard that he had more divinity students; for parlour boarders seldom do service or credit to a dissenting academy."* It has since been adopted as a standing law in evangelical academies among dissenters, that no one be admitted as a student without satisfactory evidence of real piety. Had this obviously important and proper principle been acted

* Job Orton's Letters to Dissenting Ministers, vol. i. p. 125.

upon at the commencement of English nonconformity, the dissenting churches would, in general, have maintained their former purity and prosperity.

Though the nature and manner of conducting the first dissenting colleges, were defective, yet the tutors were mostly men of sterling piety. But about the middle of the eighteenth century, some were appointed to the presidency of those institutions, who were well qualified for the office by their attainments in classical and polite literature, but were far inferior to their predecessors in spiritual knowledge and attachment to gospel truth. What has been called a spirit of free inquiry on religious and doctrinal subjects, was encouraged amongst their pupils, without guarding them against the seducing influence of erroneous principles; and the systems of Arius and Socinus being more congenial with the inclinations of a carnal mind than evangelical sentiments, it cannot excite astonishment that Arian or Socinian doctrines should be embraced, by those who had given no evidence of being born of the Spirit. By these means those seminaries which had introduced many eminent and useful labourers into the Lord's vineyard, became nurseries of error, and sent forth a host of young hands to destroy what their fathers had laboured to build.

The majority of the first Nonconformists adopted the Presbyterian mode of church government, which may also be considered as having contributed to the change of religious sentiment which has taken place amongst dissenters in this kingdom. "Of an Independent church falling into Arianism, perhaps an instance cannot be found; if at any time, a minister, or a member swerved from the truth he usually sought refuge among the Presbyterians. In consequence of this, their congregations, undefiled by the errors of the

times, felt nothing of their desolating influence, but in most places, kept up, or increased their numbers."* Among the Presbyterians, persons were admitted to church-membership who had acquired some degree of scriptural knowledge, and whose conduct was not chargeable with gross immoralities, without any particular enquiry into their acquaintance with experimental religion. Children were encouraged by the ministers, who possessed the power of the keys, to follow the example of their parents, and though the members of the first Presbyterian churches in England, were generally persons of decided piety, their offspring did not all possess the religion of their ancestors. Every succeeding generation declined more and more from the purity of the christian faith, and, by associating with worldly company, imbibed their customs, manners, and principles, to the almost total exclusion of the appearance of religion. Such persons having influence in the appointment of ministers, would naturally choose those men whose doctrines and practice were most remote from spiritual godliness.† Church discipline was also gradually laid aside, till at length little more than the name of Presbyterianism is to be found in the English

* Bogue and Bennett's History of Dissenters, vol. iii. p. 331.

† "The presumptuous intermeddling of worldly, unsanctified spirits with ecclesiastical concerns, has been the source of almost every error in doctrine and enormity in practice, that has deformed the profession of Christianity from the time of Constantine to the present day; nor is dissent of much importance except as far as it affords an antidote to this evil. The system which confounds the distinction between the church and the congregation, has long since been carried to perfection in the presbyterian denomination; and we all know what preceded and what has followed that innovation—the decay of piety, the destruction of discipline, a most melancholy departure, in a word, both in principle and in practice from genuine christianity.'—*Robert Hall's Memoir of Mr. Toller, p.* 23.

churches of that denomination. On the other hand, in Congregational churches, none are received into communion but those who are supposed, in the judgment of the members of the church, to be the subjects of regenerating grace, and give evidence thereof by a conversation becoming the gospel of Christ. These persons, living under the influence of divine truth, and having the management of the spiritual concerns of the church, will choose those men to the pastoral office, who are most likely to promote the spiritual welfare of their souls, by the ministration of gospel truth.

To the above causes must be added another, The baneful effects of endowments, which though the last mentioned, has not been the least powerful in producing the lamented result. Many of the early Nonconformists, whom God had honoured with success in their worldly undertakings, considered it their duty, either by deed of gift in their lifetime, or by legacy at their death, to devote a portion of their property to the support of the ministry of the gospel, in those places they had erected, or in which they had worshipped. They expected that the successors of those holy men by whose ministry their souls had been spiritually edified, would preach the same scriptural truths as those they had been accustomed to hear, and in many instances made express provision for this purpose. The first trustees of the property were generally men whose religious principles corresponded with those of the donors, and they faithfully executed their trust. Many of their successors however became indifferent to the purity of the gospel, and to the sacred duties of their office, and have employed the property with which they have been put in trust, to the support and propagation of doctrines the very reverse of those beloved by the pious contributors. These endowments, consisting generally of

landed property which has greatly increased in value, have in some cases rendered the ministers receiving them almost independent of the congregation, so that when anti-evangelical sentiments have been introduced into the pulpit, though the majority of the people might be favourable to the ancient faith, they were obliged to seek their spiritual food elsewhere, or their complainings were disregarded.

The following observations on this subject from a Critical Journal, whose predilections are certainly not in favour of Calvinistic sentiments, are coincident with the preceding remarks: "It is curious indeed to observe, how the subsequent history and fortunes of each of these bodies, (Presbyterians and Independents) have been determined by the characteristic difference of their original constitution. The moderate aristocracy of Presbyterianism, as long as Presbyterianism could be said to have any form of government, enabled its ministers to follow their own inclinations, with regard to the manner of conducting public worship, and the strain of preaching; while the jealous democracy of Independency kept the minister under the eye and the controul of his people, and punished the first appearance of deviation, though merely negative, from the standard of orthodoxy. The Presbyterian ministers became men of polished manners, partook largely of the biblical knowledge, and the elegant and scientific literature of the age, *dropped in every generation something of the orthodoxy of their forefathers*, and while their flocks gradually diminished, contented themselves with being the rational instructors of the few, rather than the idols of the multitude. Of late, they seem to have discovered that as a religious community they must speedily become extinct by adhering to this plan: new controversies have sprung up among

them, and though, with a new principle of cohesion and repulsion, they may still maintain themselves as a distinct body, the history of *Presbyterianism*, as a sect deducing itself from the time of the great separation from the Establishment in 1662, must be considered as very nearly closed."*

At the time Mr. Heywood was introduced into the work of the ministry, the *Presbyterian* form of church government was predominant in England. Where it was established, every congregation had its eldership, and several elderships in a district constituted a classis, at whose meetings ministers were ordained, and the general concerns of the churches within that district were attended to. These classes maintained intercourse by a provincial assembly, which for the county of Lancaster was generally held at Preston, to which all final appeals were made. Mr. H. was ordained by the classis assembling at Bury, in Lancashire, not far from his native place. When he undertook the charge at Coley, he attempted to establish, as far as existing circumstances permitted, the presbyterian discipline, in which he partly succeeded; and when licenses were granted in 1672, he formed a church at Northowram, and conducted it on the principles, of moderate presbyterianism. Though he approved of this form of church government, he was no bigot to modes of worship, but cordially esteemed all that loved the Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity. He lived on the most affectionate terms with Mr. Thomas Jollie, of Wymond-Houses, and Mr. Timothy Jollie, of Sheffield, who were both decided congregationalists, and united with them in the ordination of ministers. So moderate was he in his principles, and so similar in many respects were the sentiments and practices of the English

* Monthly Review, N.S. vol. lxxxi. 411.

Presbyterians at that time to those of the Independents, that the church at Northowram, a few years after its formation, consisted partly of Independents, though chiefly of Presbyterians. Happy will that day be, when all minor distinctions between the followers of the Lamb shall be lost in the general name of Christians, when Ephraim shall not envy Judah, and Judah shall not vex Ephraim.

The *success* with which it pleased God to crown the labours of Mr. Heywood, was unusual, and such as will be fully known only at the last day. Mr. Baxter observes: "That our success commonly bears a much more exact proportion to our design, our desire, and our hope than we imagine." If this be correct, we need not wonder that Mr. H. was so successful in his ministerial work. Few men were more diligent in labours, or more earnest, benevolent, and pure in their desires than he. He entertained the most exalted ideas of the ministerial work, as the means by which the cause of Christ is to be advanced. "To be instrumental in converting a sinner," he observes, "is to do more than Alexander did, in conquering the world. To subjugate a soul to Christ, is more than to have the necks of emperors at my footstool: yea, it is a thousand times more precious and glorious than to be master and owner of all the mines of Ophir and India. Hadst thou, my soul, been spending thyself in secret tears and trials, and public prayers and pains in diligently spreading the gospel net all thy days, and hadst drawn but one soul to Jesus Christ, that reward would be richly worth them all; but that in so few years thou shouldst become the spiritual father of so numerous an offspring, this is rich grace!" Influenced by these sentiments, it was natural that he should make the conversion of souls to Christ the subject of his

daily prayers, and the object of his constant exertions. Many pious and useful servants of Christ are unconscious of the real success of their labours, and perhaps, at the time, they are most distressed on this account, God is giving them souls for their hire. It was the privilege of Mr. H. not only to be useful, but to be favoured with the knowledge of many instances of success, especially in prohibited places, and persecuting times. "Jan. 21st, 1676," he thus writes, "I went to a meeting at Capt. Hodgson's; when I came there, I found some persons I knew not; Mr. Hodgson told me they were some young men who were my hearers, hopeful for religion, and that they had set up a monthly meeting for prayer; but as I was come, they desired me to spend some time in discourse. I begged a blessing, and Mr. Hodgson and N. Barker prayed, during which God much affected my heart, especially in the latter's affectionate requests for me and my sons. Afterwards I took a text, Zech. iv. 6, 'Not by might, nor by power, but by my Spirit, saith the Lord of hosts.' I intended only a few words extempore, but having begun and raised a doctrine, God cast into my mind abundance of matter suitable to the text and company, far beyond my expectation. I spent about an hour in that work, comfortably to myself, and I hope profitably to others, and then concluded with prayer, wherein God wonderfully enlarged my heart." "Jan. 20th. I am pressed in spirit to take notice of the fruit of my poor labours and returns of prayer, which are best evidenced by the increase of visible professors, private meetings, and forwardness therein. There are four meetings among my hearers about home, and three about Warley. I am informed that many attend them, that there are good hopes, great reformations, and strong convictions. Who knows what God may do by them? Blessed be

the name of my God. On one of these occasions, a person who engaged in prayer, thus expressed himself: That he could travel no where abroad, but he could hear of some good done by me." To use his own words, he said, "God had helped me to shoot such darts as here and there had pierced to the heart, and fastened there for the conviction and humiliation of sinners. Let God have the glory, for nothing is due to me; yet God forbid, I should obscure or deny what my dear Lord hath done in me and by me: Rom. xv. 17—19." "Sept. 8th, 1676. I went to John Butterworth's, at Warley, to keep a private fast with the young converts in that neighbourhood, and it was a delightful day; all who prayed, far exceeded my expectation. T. Bentley, J. Waddington, M. Stead, (a blind man,) and J. Simpson engaged in prayer. I was melted to many tears during the prayers of the first and last. I concluded with the expression of much thankfulness to see such forwardness; and O, how was my heart enlarged! There were above sixty persons present, and much excitement of feeling. When I first went to that place, not four years ago, there was only one praying family in that township, John Wilkinson's, and when he prayed, the people gathered about his house, mocked and abused him, and called him a wizzard. When he died, he desired I would preach his funeral sermon, on John xiv. 2; which I did, at John Butterworth's, and have still continued preaching here, which hath had this effect. Blessed be God." Many similar instances are recorded by him. In the year 1682, he heard of forty different individuals who had been benefitted by his ministry. "Aug. 11th, 1694," he thus expresses himself, "I perceive there is more good done by my ministry than I was aware of, and, it may be, more than I shall know of whilst I live; for I fre-

quently hear of some or other wrought upon by my poor labours. Blessed be God;" and he mentions several individuals who had expressed their thankfulness to God, that numbers, that thousands had been converted by his instrumentality, adding, "Soli Deo gloria."

Mr. Heywood's successful labours were continued to the end of his days, for when prevented travelling abroad, he was industriously employed in writing letters or treatises for his friends, or composing for the press. When drawing near to the close of life, he thus wrote to a friend: "I have now been above fifty years labouring in the Lord's vineyard, studying, praying, and preaching both at home and abroad, wherever the providence of God called me. I have reached nearly two years beyond the age of man, and am, as may be supposed, incapacitated for travelling. A very sore asthma, or difficulty of breathing, adds considerably to the weight of my other infirmities, so that I am mostly confined to my own house, and can only study, preach in my chapel, and exercise myself in writing books and sermons for those that desire them." Thus as a true and faithful soldier, he fought a good fight, and death found him employing spiritual weapons against the principalities and powers of darkness. Having finished his work, he had nothing to do but follow the messenger sent to conduct him to the presence of his Lord. When engaged in a tedious and painful conflict with spiritual adversaries, he had often been animated by the encouraging language of the Captain of salvation: "To him that overcometh will I grant to sit with me in my throne, even as I also overcame and am set down with my Father in his throne." He has long since exchanged a state of suffering for that of rest, the sword of combat for the palm of victory, and the reproach of the world for a

crown of righteousness. Be it our concern to follow those who, through faith and patience, inherit the promises; and let it be our fervent prayer, that a succession of holy and useful ministers may be raised up and zealously employed, till all the purposes of divine mercy are accomplished on earth, and till, on the day of the manifestation of the sons of God, the voice of the archangel shall rouse the sleeping dead, and terminate the mysteries of Providence.

APPENDIX,

COMPRISING

EXTRACTS FROM MR. HEYWOOD'S

Diary, Soliloquies, Letters, &c.

APPENDIX.

Additional Extracts from the Diary of the Reverend O. Heywood, intended not only to supply further Evidence that he was indefatigable in his Labours, but also to illustrate an Observation made at page 190 in this Volume.

1666.

May 16th.—In the morning, by sun-rising, I left my own house and went to Allerton to see my friends there; then visited Mr. Bentley, at Bingley, whose condition is worse than mine; for he is in the same house with persons with whom he cannot comfortably serve God, nor hath he the free exercise of his religion, which makes him desire and wish for some house of his own. Thence I went to Menstone, and was all night with Colonel Charles Fairfax, where I was very kindly entertained; thence I went on Friday to Bramhope, and spent the sabbath very agreeably with Mr. Dinely, and to old Mr. Rawden's, of Rawden, at night, where I had a large auditory; there I stayed all night, and met with very much refreshment. The day after, being Monday, May 20th, I went to Bramley, and was all night with Elias Hinchball, where speedily there was got together a great number from Leeds and other parts, and I preached to them till almost midnight, when the Lord in mercy assisted. May 24th, Thursday, I went to Wakefield, where, in the afternoon, I preached at my lodging, which was the house of Mrs. Elizabeth Riddlesden: on Saturday, we kept a fast at Mr. Kerby's house, there the Lord graciously helped me in preaching and prayer; on the same day, I rode to Penistone, where I spent the Lord's day, May 27th, in public * without disturbance; there was a numerous congregation from all parts, and I had great liberty in preaching and prayer, but not such meltings of heart as sometimes I have felt, nor can I be so affected with the state of souls, nor do that good which my

* Not in a private house, but in a Chapel or consecrated place of worship.

heart desires. On Monday, I came from Penistone to Alverthorp, near Wakefield, and preached about six o'clock at the house of one Thomas Holdsworth, and stayed all night with my sons (who were come to meet me) at the house of John Kirks: on Thursday, I brought my sons within two miles of my own house, and then turned to visit my good friend Mr. Thorp, at Hopton-Hall, from whence we went to visit friends on the Wednesday, and on the Thursday I preached to a few there, and then proceeded to Robert Binns's house, to visit my friends about Slaithwaite, where I am wont to have exercises every year; but now they are fallen and all things changed.

June 4th, Monday night, I went to visit my good friend, James Sagar, (a very worthy aged Christian,) who being sick, had sent for me; I found him very weak, prayed with him that night, and in the morning, and through mercy he was much better when I left him; on the approach of night I came homewards, visited Mr. Nesse and several others in my return, and came home.

June 16th.—Saturday night, on earnest solicitation, I went to Bramley in the night, about seven miles, God mercifully preserved me; I preached three times on the Lord's day, and was much refreshed; the hearts of the people were much affected. I hope some good was done. Having visited friends by the way, on Monday night, June 18, I returned home with safety.

Dec. 3.—I went to Mr. John Sharp's of Little Horton, where Mr. Sharp, having appointed a meeting with an intention to preach, they put me upon that work in his room; on Tuesday night I preached at Mr. Rawden's at Rawden; on Wednesday night at Joseph Kitchin's house at Farsley, where I had a good auditory; on the Thursday night at Leeds, and on the Friday travelled to Wakefield. At night I lodged with Mr. Clayton of Okenshaw; on the Saturday, (according to promise) I went to Sir Edward Rhodes's house at Houghton, and spent the Sabbath there with much comfort; on the Monday went to York, and stayed there till Tuesday, visited friends, and went to Mr. Vincent's house at the Grange; on Thursday I went to Swath-hall and lodged there that night; on Friday visited friends and lodged at Nathaniel Bottomley's, where I preached—the Lord graciously assisting; on Saturday I went to Penistone, and preached there on the Lord's day—it was a precious day to my soul.

1667.

Jan. 31, which was Thursday.—I began to take another

journey, (according to promise) and that night Mr. Sharp and I united in preaching to a considerable number at William Hodgson's in Bowling, near Bradford; on Friday I visited friends, and lodged at Mr. Sales's at Pudsey; on Saturday went to Bramley, where I preached three times on the Lord's day, and enjoyed a sweet distinguishing ordinance; on Monday night I preached at S. Ellison's, near Bramley; on Tuesday I went to Leeds, visited some friends, baptized some children, but could not preach that night on account of extremely acute head-ache, but being better on Wednesday morning I preached; then visited W. Whitley who was very sick, with whom I had interesting discourse, and that day travelled to Bramhope, where first I prayed with Mr. W. Dinely who was near to death of a consumption; afterwards I preached to the family and some others that came to hear me, and preached again in the morning; at night came to Mr. Rawden's of Rawden, where I preached; on Friday, being Feb. 8. I called on my good friend Mr. Waterhouse, supped with him, and in the evening returned in safety to my own house, and found all well: blessed be God.

April 29th, Leaving home, I went towards Lancashire, and lodged at Matthew Hollis's house at Rochdale, where I preached; on the Tuesday, to Manchester, and lodged at Mr. Hutton's. That night it is their foolish custom after twelve o'clock to rise and ramble abroad, make garlands, strew flowers, &c. which they call *Bringing in May;* I could sleep little that night, by reason of the tumult; the day after being May the 1st, I went to Denton.

Aug. 23rd, Friday.—I went from home with my wife, and that day preached at William Hodgson's, in Bowling, to a considerable auditory, and lodged at night with Mr. Sharp, at Little Horton. On Saturday, I preached at Joseph Kitchen's, Farsley, and that night rode to Bramhope, where I spent the Lord's day following, and had a large assembly in Mr. Dinely's hall; there God made me of some use in that family. On Monday, I went to William Thompson's at Headingley, and there preached at night; the day after to Leeds, and preached at even in Samuel Boys' house, and lodged at Mr. Spencer's, in Meadow Lane. On Wednesday morning, I preached at Mr. Spencer's new house in Hunslet Lane, where I had a great assembly, and God graciously appeared, affording abundant assistance and protection. I dined with Joseph Jackson, and afterwards walked into the town to visit friends; that night I went to Bramley, and in the night preached at Ellis Bury's house; the day after I visited friends in Bramley, Pudsey, and Farsley, and came at night to Rawden, and

preached there that evening according to appointment in old Mr. Rawden's house; the day after, I visited Mr. Waterhouse in my return home which I reached, August 30th, having been just a week abroad, and having preached nine times in those seven days. Blessed be God for work, help and hopes of a reward in due time. Sept. 5th.—Thursday, I went to Bingley, I visited some as I went, and lodged at Marley-hall, where I preached that night; the first meeting in private, I suppose they have had in that parish; the Lord graciously assisted and brought together a considerable number, who were much affected. Who knows but some good may be done? The day after, I visited my good friend Mr. Bentley, who lives in that parish, or rather is buried there, being much out of the road and out of public employment; I dined with him, and came afterwards to visit Mr. Furnace at Ovenden, and so home that night.

Nov. 26th.—Two eminent servants of God are dead, Mr. Hawksworth, minister formerly at Hunslet, buried there yesterday, and Mr. Smallwood,* formerly minister of Batley, buried this day—the former died at Alverthorp-hall, on Saturday afternoon, Nov. 23; the latter, aged sixty, at Flanshaw, Nov. 24th, being the Lord's day in the afternoon, not a quarter of a mile distance, and not a day between their deaths. The Lord sanctify these awful breaches and presages of wrath.

1668.

Feb. 8th.—According to a call and promise, my wife and I rode to Idle, in Calverley parish, where (the place being vacant) I preached the day after, being the Lord's day, and had a very numerous congregation—the Lord graciously assisted and preserved me in safety; on Monday I went to Rawden and preached there that night; on the Tuesday to Bradford, visited Mr. Brooksbank, and lodged with Mr. Waterhouse; the day after called at Mr. Sharp's, where was appointed a meeting that day, but it was put off by business, we then came home that night, and found all well, blessed be God. On Friday, Feb. 14th,—I went again to Little Horton, and Mr. Waterhouse, Mr. Dawson, Mr. Sharp, and I kept the day upon a solemn occasion, and oh how my heart was enlarged in the duty!

Feb. 28th.—Being Saturday, I went to Penistone, where I

* Mr. Smallwood was born in Cheshire. He was some time chaplain to Lord Fairfax, and afterwards to Lambert in the army. He was turned out of Batley, a sequestered living, in 1660, and preached in Idle chapel till 1662. He was a man of a noble, valiant, active spirit. His great delight and excellency lay in preaching for the conviction and awakening of sinners, in which God wonderfully prospered him. He was a moderate Congregationalist, ready to act in concert with his brethren.—*Noncon. Mem. vol. iii. page* 438.

the day after (being saturday feb 8 1662)
according to a call and promise, my wife and I
rode to Tolle in Coberley parish, where (the
place being vacant) I preacht the day after,
being lords day, and had a very numerous
congregation. the Lord graciously assisted, and
preserved me in safety; on monday I went to
Rendcomb and preacht there that night, on the
thursday to Bradford, visited Mr Brooks sonn
lodged with Mr Watchouse. the day after called
at Mr Sharps where was appointed a meeting
that day, but it was put off by reason, and
so we came home that night, and found all well
blessed be god, on friday I went again to Tolle
Horton, and Mr Watchouse, Mr Daughter Mr Sharp
and I kept the day upon a solemne occasion and
oh how my heart was inlarged in the duty.

preached next day, but through indisposition of body, I was something dull, though treating upon the subject of lukewarmness, yet God helped in prayer; at night I went to Cawthorne, and lodged with William Roebuck. On Monday, I travelled to visit old Mr. Spawford, at Mr. Cotton's house, and that day came to Wakefield, preached in the evening at Mrs. Kerby's, and lodged at Christopher Wilson's. On Tuesday I went to Leeds, visited my Lady Hoyle in the way, lodged and preached at Robert Hickson's; on Wednesday, visited one Stephen Blagbrough, who was sick and sore afflicted in conscience, and that night I returned home.

May 31th.—Lord's day, I preached in my house, and had a large auditory; on Tuesday Mr. Sales, Mr. Hawden, Mr. Dawson, and I, kept a private fast with and for Elizabeth Sagar, at Allerton, who is under desertion, temptation, and sorely pressed with melancholy, God in mercy assisted; on Wednesday, I preached my lecture at home; it was a good day. On Friday, June 5th,—we were five ministers and several Christians engaged in exercises of solemn thankfulness for Mr. Sharp's recovery at Little Horton. O how my heart was melted in that duty! blessed be my good God.

July 12th.—Lord's day, I preached at home, and the next after that, and had great multitudes to hear me. The week following, on Monday night, my dear brother Nathaniel came to visit us, having preached in public at Bramley, on the Lord's day; he preached with us on Tuesday, and on Wednesday I brought him homewards.

Aug. 30th.—Being the Sabbath, I preached all day at Idle chapel, whither God brought a mighty congregation, affections were moved, and it may be, some good is done, blessed be God for that day; I went from home in the morning, and came home at night.

1669.

Aug. 1st.—Sabbath day, I went to Idle, and preached, where God graciously helped; there was a fair field in which to reap, and a great assembly, with some excitement of feeling; who knows what the effect may prove?

1670.

Jan. 8th.—I went to Honley, and next day being the Sabbath, preached there, went to Hulme at night and preached at Mr. Earnshaw's on the Monday, and on Tuesday came home, found all well; blessed be God.

1679.

October 2nd.—I rode to Stubbings, and preached at S. Hopkinson's; God wonderfully melted my heart in prayer, and assisted me in preaching from these words: "Let us consider one another, to provoke unto love and to good works."

3rd.—We had our solemn day of humiliation at my house. God was pleased to assist me wonderfully in praying and preaching; it was a precious season.

4th.—Was assisted in study, though much interrupted. My wife and I resolved to spend some time in prayer together—distracted by company.

5th.—God wonderfully enlarged my heart in prayer, preaching, and administering the Lord's supper. Blessed be his holy name..

6th.—Visited the family of J. Baxter, and was comforted in prayer. Studied the rest of the day.

7th.—My wife and I rode to Mr. Sharp's at Little Horton, where we kept a day of thanksgiving for family deliverances. It was a good season, though my heart was not so much affected as I have experienced on the like occasion. Lord, shew me the cause.

8th.—My son Eliezer and I rode to Mr. Cotton's, at Denby, where God mercifully assisted us in the acts of worship, in which we were both engaged.

9th.—Mr. Hancock and I preached at Mr. Cotton's. He on these words, "Giving thanks to the Father, who hath made us meet to be partakers of the inheritance of the saints in light;" and I on the following: "But this I say, brethren, that the time is short." God graciously comforted my heart in the work of the day.

10th.—Visited some other friends; set out after dinner, called on Mr. Thorp, rode home, and was mercifully delivered from the dangers of the waters by the way. Blessed be God.

12th.—Was graciously assisted in all the public services of the day, and filled with comfort. Blessed be the name of the Lord for ever.

13th.—Attended the funeral of Robert Ramsden, of Halifax, called on Dr. Hook, and visited other friends.

14th.—Rode to Dam-head, where God wonderfully melted my heart in prayer, and in preaching to a full assembly from these words: "Now, therefore, thus saith the Lord of hosts, Consider your ways." The Lord gave hopes of good, by stirring up the affections of those who were present.

15th.—Was mercifully assisted in making preparations for

the work of the ensuing day. My heart was quickened in offering praise and thanksgivings to God for his unnumbered mercies.

16th.—We had a day of thanksgiving for public and family mercies. Mr. Dawson was employed in offering up our praises to the Lord; after which I was engaged in the same delightful work, and in preaching.

17th.—We had a solemn day of fasting and prayer at J. Kershaw's. O what a heart-melting season was this to us! I hope God will hear and answer prayer.

18th.—In study and prayer was much enlarged: it was a good day. Glory be to the name of my merciful Father.

19th.—We had a numerous assembly. I would be thankful for some measure of comfort, though I did not experience such meltings in prayer as at some times.

20th.—I travelled to Great Gomersal, kept a solemn fast with Mr. Dawson, Mr. Holdsworth, * and many more. The Lord sweetly melted my heart in prayer and preaching.

21st.—Took a journey towards Craven, visited J. Forster's family, and preached at Thos. Leech's to a considerable company. In the evening, the Lord assisted Thomas Leech, M. Broadley, and myself in praying for the nation.

22nd.—Preached at J. Key's to a full assembly. The Lord wonderfully blessed us in prayer; many tears were shed, and the people were so much affected that at some times my voice was scarcely heard. I have seldom known the like before! Surely it is a favourable token.

24th.—Came with some friends to J. Baldwin's, where some time was spent in useful discourse. Returning home at night, I saw great reason to bless God for this sweet journey.

25th.—Endeavoured to study, but my heart was cold, dead, and distracted. The Lord pardon me.

26th.—This was a day of mercy. The Lord helped me in praying and preaching amongst a multitude of people. My text was, "He also shall be my salvation."

27th.—We kept a solemn fast at Alice Holt's. O what a day was this! What meltings of heart and shedding of tears before the Lord! Mr. Dawson, Mr. Priestley, Mr. Bradshaw, and myself were employed in prayer. Blessed be my God for such seasons as these!

* He was chaplain to Sir Rich. Houghton, of Houghton Tower, in Lancashire, after his ejectment from the University of Cambridge. In 1672, he preached publicly at Heckmondwike, in Yorkshire, and continued to labour there till his death in 1685, when not quite fifty years of age. His memory is still revered as a useful minister of Christ.

29th.—We had a solemn fast at Mr. Dawson's on account of the nation. My heart was sweetly enlarged.

30th.—Preached at Sowerby on Heb. x. 24. Alas! I see many defects in what I do, and great cause for humiliation; yet the Lord stands by me to help me in time of need.

31st.—Was much refreshed in closet prayer, but afterwards lost much time in seeking some sermons which I could not find. The Lord pardon me. Afterwards visited J. Langley, discoursed, and prayed with him.

November 1st.—The Lord graciously led my thoughts to a text, after I had been much agitated about the choice of one. My heart was then quieted, and I was helped in studying.

2nd.—Preached on these words, "Thy will be done." I was much helped and comforted.

4th.—Studied in the morning, and in the afternoon Mr. Dawson and I rode to Morley, and lodged at Mr. John Brooksbank's. We had the next day a double lecture at the meeting-house, Morley, where there was a large assembly. Mr. Dawson's text was, "There is none like the God of Jeshurun;" mine, "Let us consider one another, to provoke unto love and good works." For assistance afforded to us both, we have great reason to be thankful.

6th.—We had a meeting preparatory to the ordinance of the Lord's supper at Morley; after which I went to Leeds, lodged at Mr. Hick's

7th.—Visited several friends at Leeds, discoursed with them about the concerns of their souls, and joined with them in prayer.

8th.—Dined with Dr. Whitaker, and discoursed about some unhappy differences among good people.

9th.—Rode to Alverthorp, where I was much assisted in prayer and preaching. On my return home, I found all well after this long absence. Blessed be the name of the Lord.

11th.—Preached at John Butterworth's of Warley, where God brought many people to hear me, and gave my soul sweet enlargement in speaking to them, and praying with them.

12th.—We had a day of fasting and prayer at James Tetley's. God graciously helped me in the work, especially in praying for the nation.

—— Went to Little Lever, the place of my nativity, and preached there to a full assembly of my relations, old neighbours, and friends; God was graciously with us.

—— At Cockey chapel I was mercifully assisted in preaching to a large audience of serious people; and afterwards at the house of my relation, Mr. Peter Heywood. Returning to

Rochdale, God gave us a merciful opportunity in worshipping him at Robt. Milan's.

—— Travelling towards Wakefield I visited John Burhead, Josiah Oates, and other christian brethren, and lodged at Mr. Jenkinson's, Horbury. The next day, after preaching at Alverthorp, rode towards York. In that city, I waited on Lord Clifford and Lord Fairfax, lodging at night with Sir John Hewley. Preached at Lady Watson's and spent the evening at Lady Hewet's. God dealt graciously with me. The next day I visited many friends, and dined at Sir John Hewley's, with Lord Clifford, Sir Gilbert Gerherd, Sir John Brook, and others. The morning after I was called upon to preach in Lady Hewley's room. God mercifully assisted me and gave me freedom. His mercies are infinite!

1680.

Jan. 2nd, Lord's day.—Was sweetly comforted in praying and preaching. I attempted to describe the fruits which the Lord expects from his vineyard; and, blessed be his name, he was pleased to make it a good day.

12th.—Mr. Dawson, several others, and I, kept a day of solemn humiliation, at the house of J. K. in Wyke. God sweetly melted my heart, and helped me in preaching from Psalm lvi. 8, "Thou tellest my wanderings; put thou my tears into thy bottle; are they not in thy book?"

13th.—Rode to Bingley, preached at Josh. Walker's at Rushworth-hall, on Psalm cxix. 158, "I beheld the transgressors and was grieved, because they kept not thy word." A full assembly. Had good assistance. In the evening several brethren prayed: it was a good season.

14th.—Called on Mrs. Ferrand, of Bingley, discoursed and prayed with her. Conversed with another at Cottingley under trouble of mind. Called on Mr. Joseph Lister, and returned home in safety, though it was a very stormy day.

16th.—We had a day of fasting and prayer at my house, on account of M. R. My heart was sweetly melted while Mr. Dawson was employed.

17th.—Studied closely, and was much assisted, but not so comfortable in prayer with my wife and servant, as at other times.

18th.—Preached at Kipping, and was graciously helped through the day's work.

19th.—Attended the funeral of that gracious young woman, Grace Bastow, at Halifax. Mr. Hook preached.

22nd.—Went to Sowerby, and preached at Stubbings; my

God graciously assisting me; blessed be his holy name; it was a good day.

25th, Lord's day.—We assembled for divine worship at W. Clay's, and were exceedingly thronged, yet God was with us of a truth.

26th.—We had a day of fasting and prayer at W. Clay's, on account of the gloomy aspect of public affairs. There were many present, and O what a heart-melting day was it unto us!

28th.—Rode to Captain Hodgson's, where we had a day of fasting and prayer. God wonderfully assisted those who were employed in wrestling with him in behalf of the nation.

30th.—Was greatly assisted in my studies, though somewhat interrupted by company. That pious Christian, Mr. Joseph Lister, paid us a visit.

—— My Lord Rutherford did me the honour to call upon me. We spent most of the afternoon together, I hope, to mutual edification. I returned to my chamber in the evening, where it pleased God to afford me his gracious help in my studies.

—— Lord's day, I preached at Alverthorpe, and was mercifully assisted in every part of the work.

—— Friday, we had a solemn day of fasting and prayer, preparatory to the Lord's supper. It pleased the Almighty to favour us with tokens of his gracious presence; my own heart was deeply affected in prayer and preaching.

—— Monday, much interrupted in my studies by visitors. Have to complain of dullness and stupidity of mind. Lord, pity and pardon me.

—— Tuesday, spent about six hours in secret prayer and meditation, and am unable to express what I then experienced. O what a season of humiliation and comfort was it to my poor soul! Blessed be the holy name of my gracious God for ever.

—— We had a private fast at James Halstead's, which was to us a time of spiritual refreshment from the presence of the Lord. My heart was deeply affected while Mr. Joseph Lister, of Kipping, prayed.

—— Thursday, I preached to a large assembly at Sam. Hopkinson's, from these words, "Almost thou persuadest me to be a Christian." I trust, God was with us of a truth, and that some good was done among us.

—— Preached to a full assembly at Mr. Leech's, Bingley, from the precious declaration of our Redeemer, "Him that cometh unto me, I will in no wise cast out." It was a refreshing season to myself, and, I hope, to many others.

—— We had a large assembly at Mr. John Butterworth's, Warley, where I spent about four hours in prayer and preach-

ing, with great pleasure and enlargement of heart; blessed be the Father of mercies. The words dwelt upon were, "Which of you intending to build a city, or a tower, sitteth not down first, and counteth the cost?" It was a merciful season indeed.

—— Lord's day was a sweet day to my soul. It pleased God to melt my heart exceedingly in pleading with him in behalf of the nation.

—— Preached at Warley to a very large assembly, many of whom seemed to be deeply affected. O that I may be thankful for the mercies poured upon us at that happy season!

—— Monday afternoon, we spent six hours in prayer. Seven young men were called to the exercise, and were much assisted.

1682.

June 28th.—Having performed my closet exercises, and spent some time in studying, preparatory to my journey, I set my family in order and committed them to God in prayer. After dinner I set forward for Lancashire, and as I rode over Blackstone Edge I propounded four subjects for meditation; but could only go over the two former—What God hath done for me since I first came that road?—What requital I had made?—What God calls for me to do?—What he calls me to suffer, and how? God graciously helped me. I lodged at R. Milne's, at Rochdale.

29th.—Rose early and God affected my heart very sensibly in secret prayer. O what a melting season it was! In the forenoon I gathered Lady Hewit's rents. Dined at R. M's, and after four o'clock set out towards Manchester. Here I found brother Wilson indisposed, and was helped to pray for him.

30th.—God enlarged my heart in prayer, and graciously assisted me. Visited Mr. Tilsley, went to Mr. Newcome's and received the Lord's supper at his hands, when God gave pledges of his love: blessed be his name. In the afternoon, rode to Blakeley, and preached to a full company at widow Travers's house. Came back to Manchester; blessed be my good God.

July 1st.—In the morning, rose at four o'clock, and after reading four chapters, prayed, and went with sister Hilton to Mr. Barlow's, and preached to a considerable company on Micah v. 5. God deeply affected my heart in prayer for the church, having heard bad news. I visited some, and then travelled. Called on Mr. Sargeant at Stand, brother Colburn's at Radcliffe Bridge, and lodged at T. Woofinan's at Darcey Lever. Blessed be God.

2nd.—I was helped in prayer, went to Cockey chapel and preached on 2 Tim. iii. 5. God graciously enlarged my heart in his work. Dined at Lawrence Lomax's and at night went to brother Colburn's, where God assisted me in repeating my sermon and praying with a great number of persons.

3rd.—Early in the morning, God helped in prayer in my chamber, and in the family. Then I set forwards to Bolton, called at my father's house in Little Lever, and arrived at Bolton at twelve o'clock. Heard Mr. Boardman preach in the church. Visited Mr. Lever, my dear child in Christ. Alice Crompton came to me in bitterness of soul, on whom God had wrought by my ministry; I discoursed and prayed with her. Lodged at brother Okey's; blessed be my good God.

4th.—In my chamber this morning I met with more than ordinary incomes of grace, and out-goings of heart to God. Then I had some conversation with Mr. Lever. Afterwards came to Darcey Lever, and preached a funeral sermon at Thos. Woofman's, for a daughter of cousin Alice Greenhalgh on Micah vi. 7. God graciously helped. At night I repeated it to a full company. Despatched other business, and lodged there safely.

5th.—God helped me betimes in prayer and reading my chapters. Spent the forenoon with my sister Esther. Towards eleven o'clock rode to Breightmet and preached a funeral sermon for Ann Scolcroft on Rev. xxii. 14. God graciously assisted. Lodged at Cousin Crompton's, Crompton Fold.

6th.—Was helped to pray and bless my God for many mercies, especially for my dear wife who was born in this house. After family prayer, I rode to Little Lever, discoursed and prayed with my sister's daughter, who is married and going to live in my father's house to whom it belongs. Discoursed with D. Holt, in Bury, and came to Rochdale at six o'clock. Preached at a friend's house, and lodged at R. Milne's.

7th.—God helped me in my chamber earnestly to plead with him, and to bless him for my journey so far and the mercies thereof. Then we had prayer, breakfast, and conversation. Set forward on my journey, in which God protected. Called at Josiah Stonefield's, and arrived at home by six o'clock. Had a large and sweet letter from my son Eliezer. Blessed be God for returns of prayer.

Sept. 25th.—Set forward for Lancashire, accompanied by my wife. Called at Littleborough, and lodged at Rochdale, with P. Ogden.

26th.—In the morning was helped in prayer with my wife.

We visited friends, dined, and rode to Manchester. God graciously preserved us and brought us safely to brother Hilton's, where we found mercy. Blessed be God.

27th.—In the morning I was assisted in prayer. Visited friends in the forenoon. After dinner walked out, and at six o'clock preached at Martha Taylor's, on Prov. iv. 23. God in mercy gave assistance, and we had a full company.

28th.—In the forenoon, visited Mr. Hooper, &c. After dinner rode to Booth-hall, near Blakeley, and preached on Cant. v. 3. God helped me. I returned and repeated my sermon at brother Hilton's. Blessed be God.

29th.—In the morning my wife and I took our journey to J. Leach's, at Newton, where I preached to a good company. Dined and came back to Manchester. Visited Mr. Seolfield, and then preached at Mr. Barlow's from seven o'clock till nine, on Isa. xl. 31. God appeared for me: blessed be his name.

30th.—In the morning we committed our concerns to God, and visited friends in Manchester. After dinner my wife and I set out for Cockey-Moor. Met with a drunken man in Stand-Lane, who threatened us; but God in mercy protected us. We came to Ratcliffe Bridge and lodged at Lawrence Lomax's.

Oct. 1st.—Preached at Cockey chapel all day, on Gal. i. 4. God helped me in prayer and preaching, There was a very numerous assembly. Met cousin N. Heywood and his mother. Found mercy all day. Repeated at night at Lawrence Lomax's to a house full of people, and lodged there. Blessed, blessed be my God.

2nd.—God graciously helped me in the morning to plead for the church, and made it a good day. I went to Bolton and heard the lecture. Met with cousin Bradshaw, discoursed with him about my sons, and had encouragement. Conversed and prayed with E. Crompton. At night repeated to a house full at brother Okey's, where we lodged.

3rd.—In the morning God assisted. Then got ready, and after family prayer, departed. Called on my sister Esther, discoursed and prayed with her and sister Heywood. Rode to my father's house, where James Lomax now lives. Preached to a full assembly on Zeph. ii. 3. God afterwards helped in despatching business. Received rents and returned to Bolton.

4th.—After prayer and breakfast we took leave, and set out on our journey. Called and dined at cousin J. Crompton's, at Breightmet. Set forward and called on Mrs. Gregg, Bridge-hall. Came to Mrs. Hallow's, near Rochdale; lodged there and much mercy. Blessed be God.

5th.—In the morning God graciously met my heart in prayer

with my wife. After family worship set myself to spend some time in secret prayer before dinner. O what a melting season it was! Blessed be my God. After dinner rode to Mr. Ogden's, and preached there at night to a full company, on Prov. vi. 23. God wonderfully helped. We lodged there.

6th.—After closet and family duties, I and my wife came forwards. God preserved in and from danger. We called at Miss Stead's. Came home and found all well. Blessed be God. Several friends came to welcome us home.

The Warrant, by virtue whereof Mr. Hardcastle was taken at Shadwell, with twenty-four more, he for preaching, they for hearing.*

To all Bailiffs, Constables, and other his Majesty's Officers, especially to John Ancyard, and Matthew Wilkinson.

Com. Ebor. } Whereas we are credibly informed that divers
West Rid. } Sectarians and other disloyal persons, do oftentimes in great numbers, to the terror of the king's liege people, riotously, seditiously, and impudently meet in divers places, within the said Riding at unlawful assemblies and conventicles, under colour and pretence of exercise of religion, in other manner than is allowed by the liturgy and practice of the Church of England; which meetings they are the more encouraged to hold, by the wilful neglect and carelessness of the constables, and other officers in the said Riding to suppress the same, in which conventicles under colour of preaching, divers schismatical and nonconformist clerks, and other dangerous and disloyal persons do traduce and revile the king, and the church aforesaid, and endeavour by such means to disaffect the people to the government, and as far as in them lies consequently to disturb the king's peace, and turmoil the nation in new combustions and confusions, which said conventicles are notorious, and in those parts in contempt of the government are notoriously held.——These are therefore in his Majesty's name to will and require you and every of you, taking with you such assistants as you shall think fit from time to time, to prohibit and discharge the said conventicles, and unlawful assemblies, and at all times to apprehend and seize the persons in the said meetings, and to carry them before two of his Majesty's Justices of

* See pages 114 and 253.

the peace for the said Riding, to be prosecuted against according to law, and hereof fail not at your peril.

Given under our hands and seals the 22nd of May, in the 17th year of his Majesty's reign.

JOHN ARMITAGE. FRAN. WHITE.
JOHN KAY. J. N.

SOLILOQUIES.

Many of Mr. Heywood's Soliloquies were composed on various events of his life, and are so interwoven with his history that they have necessarily been inserted in the preceding memoirs. Others relate more generally to his religious experience, and may be read with interest by Christians as descriptive of those spiritual feelings common to all the regenerated family of God. "As in water face answereth to face, so the heart of man to man." The relation and comparison of religious experience have often proved an effectual means of encouraging weak believers, instructing young converts, and promoting the general welfare of souls. The spiritual experience of David as recorded in the book of Psalms, has been of incalculable benefit to the church of God in every succeeding age, and many who are now on their pilgrimage to the heavenly Jerusalem are thankful for what the inspired Psalmist has declared of the "things God had done for his soul." One end of christian biography, and that too not the least important, is, that the present and future race of spiritual combatants may become acquainted with the conflicts of those who are now inheriting the promises, and with the means by which they "came off more than conquerors." The following extracts from the remainder of Mr. Heywood's soliloquies, will therefore no doubt be acceptable to the pious reader.

The remarks inserted by Mr. Heywood on a blank leaf of the volume containing his soliloquies, will form a suitable introduction to the extracts. "I intend to write in this book some private soliloquies and ejaculations, wherewith my soul hath been very much delighted under the various pressures and burdens which have frequently encumbered me, and sat heavy on my spirits. I have experienced this divine act of meditation and self-argumentation to be the most sovereign way to dispel the

clouds of distempering thoughts from my mind, or to remove my backwardness to duties, or advance my thoughts heavenwards, or mortify my affections of a worldly and sinful nature. It is begun on the 10th of May, 1653."

SOLILOQUY I.

Advance thyself now, O my soul, be thou thyself and act a spirit's part. Reflect upon, return into thyself, and see how things go there. Hath God given thee these rational faculties and a self-discoursing power, and shall not these be exercised? Begin to confer with thy own heart, and thou shalt not want matter. Let the method be what it will, so that thou mayest profit thyself and gain advantage over thy spiritual foes. Look within thee and without thee, look below thee and above thee, and if there be not matter of meditation then I shall wonder. But surely if thou art not extremely wanting to thyself, this spiritual exercise will bring a return of full, new, and heart-refreshing supplies. O my soul, let me now stimulate thee to this course, whilst I charge thee not to be sluggish in it. Let not trivial matters interrupt thee, but constantly and conscientiously exercise thyself therein. I solemnly require thee, thou deceitful heart, do not here beguile me, do not plead excuses, do not make delays, but begin in good earnest; it is a business of great concern, and I adjure and command thee by the authority God hath given me over thee, to comply with the duty and come and act thy part. Loiter not in unprofitable formality or a vain offer, like the son that said, "I go, sir, and went not." I charge thee, my depraved and backward heart, in the name of God, and upon thy allegiance to thy dread Sovereign, to deal impartially with thyself, to arraign thyself at the bar of conscience, and to imitate, as much as may be, God's calling sinners to account at the general assizes. Keep back nothing now which shall then be revealed. Fear not to know the worst; it is better to know it here by thy own voluntary discovery, than to have such things brought up then, as thou wouldst give all the world to be concealed, if it were possible; it must be better to shame thyself here, where thou mayest be restored, than to be ashamed hereafter without remedy. O the benefit thou mayest get by communing with thy own heart! Hereby thou mayest come to know more of its secret wanderings, windings, and iniquitous turnings. Thou mayest take notice of thy progress in thy journey, of the decaying and rising of thy sensual desires, and of the revival of grace. Thou mayest know more of the method of Satan and the mystery of iniquity. Thy

heart may be blessed with suitable dispositions, as thou seest occasion, to mourn when thou dost not find things well and wisely conducted, and to rejoice when thou hast cause. Sure I am, this secret soul-soliloquy will prove a gainful trade, a sweet delicious feast, and a solemn delightful exercise, that will exhilarate thy spirits better than wine. Try this course, O my soul, and observe if it be not good for thee. See if thy graces do not increase by it, the power of thy sins diminish, and thy duties be better discharged. See if thou dost not enjoy more communion with God, and if others do not observe thy face to shine and thy ways to be more regular, by frequent conversing with God and thyself. By this means thou wilt spend thy days with more solace and delight, and live as in a little corner of heaven. Store up sweet and soul-refreshing comforts against an evil day. Inure thyself to exercise thy graces alone, and if God deprive thee of his saints, thou mayest enjoy the fellowship of God here, and think it no strange thing to remove to his immediate presence at death.

II.

Come, my soul, and let me feel which way thy pulse beats. Is it not heavenwards? and shouldst thou not be heavenly-minded? See what cause thou hast to mind thy God and an eternal state. Canst thou bring to thy recollection no heart-raising considerations to elevate thee heavenwards? What sayest thou? Are there no vestiges of divine distinguishing providences left upon thee? Are there no impressions of free grace experienced, fresh within thee? Then thou art much out of frame. Dost thou not find thyself lost in a labyrinth of God's mercies? Dost thou not feel thyself transported by an angelical admiration of God's bounty and compassion, and art thou not plunged into the depths of self-condemning indignation to see thy strange requitals? O that God should do so much *for thee*, and that thou shouldst do so much *against him!* as if thou wouldst strive with God, to see whether his loving-kindness or thy rebellion shall have the victory! Who but a churlish Nabal would be so ungrateful a requiter? He hath made thee; doth not that deserve thy homage? He hath kept thee from thy birth to the present moment; doth not that require some dutiful obedience? Ah, but thy Saviour hath died for thee and redeemed thee, without which thou hadst been lost for ever! Doth not that merit a thankful remembrance? He did not think his dearest heart's blood too dear for thee, and wilt thou think thy cordial thoughts too dear for him? Suppose the Lord had cast thee into hell, thou wouldst have roared out under thy pangs, and couldst not forget God's

hand of justice; but now the Lord hath redeemed thee, and bestowed on thee many privileges, why shouldst thou forget his strong arm of mercy? Poor soul, hast thou any thing to mind but thy God? Is there any thing worth thinking of besides thy treasure?

Tell me, O my soul, hast thou not sometimes upon the deliberate comparison of transitory vanities, (gilded over with the fairest gloss of happiness) with the bare naked excellence of soul-refreshing enlargements, which thou hast sometimes enjoyed from God; hast thou not, I say, preferred this latter with its roughness, before the former with its attractions? Hast thou not infinitely preferred the pleasures of grace before the pleasures of the world? and wilt thou now return to the beggarly and weak elements of the world? Wilt thou now go and counteract thy own persuasions by thy practices? Nay, nay, my soul, exchange not gold for glass, leave not the tried substance for the shadow; but come along, I'll lead thee by the hand, and let thee take a glance of what thou canst not fully know because of thy carnality. Or rather, take a full survey of outward sensible favours; ask thy outward man, and it will tell thee, ask thy senses, and they will testify of multitudes of tender mercies. Propound some queries to thyself, and see what answer a well informed, rectified, and sanctified understanding will dictate upon the right discovery of thy present state. But, O my soul, beware of the ticklings of pride, arrogance, or vainglory. Poor creature, tell me now what art thou? A creature of God's making, the workmanship of the great and infinite God, the same God that made the holy angels and highest heavens! But what creature art thou? A man; that is a mercy, God might have made thee a brute. But thou art a man, endowed with a living soul capable of felicity; a rational and intelligent man; God might have made thee a fool, an idiot to be scorned, derided and mocked by all! But what sort of man art thou? A Christian, one born within the pale of the visible church! Thou mightest have been born among the rude Indians or savage Turks, and been either a gross idolater, to have adored the creature instead of the Creator, yea, to have worshipped the devil himself; or have lived in a popish country: and what hopes can there be of salvation where means are wanting? God hath brought thee up all thy days at the feet of Gamaliel, where light hath shone round thee as in a little Goshen, yea, it hath shone into thee which is best of all! Thou art a Christian, not nominally only but really, I feel persuaded. Here stand gazing up into heaven, not into thyself: it was God's own work, and is marvellous in my eyes! But

what kiud of Christian art thou? Not of an inferior rank but a teaching Christian—a minister of the gospel. O what riches of grace are here! For whom hath God done all these observable things? Not for a prince, nor one descended of noble blood, nor for a subtle politician, eminent scholar, critical linguist, acute philosopher, profound mathematician, or learned divine; no, no, the Lord hath not bestowed these mercies on any such accounts; yet God hath made choice of thee, and made use of thee, yea, hath accounted thee faithful to bear his message to a wicked world. O what an infinite ocean of mercy is this! Were there not many thousands in England of more admirable natural abilities and acquired learning, some of whom were not permitted to enter upon these sacred studies, and so are incapable of being employed in the Lord's vineyard. Others are commissioned outwardly and qualified excellently with all external endowments, yet answer not to their call; instead of being faithful labourers they are fruitless loiterers, are wretchedly profane, and the ringleaders in every scene of iniquity, instead of leading their people heavenwards. But I see grace is free, and that alone hath made the difference. Should not God then have all the praise? And how canst thou express his praise more than in a due and diligent minding of thy God, waiting upon him, walking with him, and working for him?

III.

Raise up thyself, O my soul, and aspire in thy desires towards the highest heavens. Mount up like flames of fire with heat and height of zeal and love towards the chief good. What else can content and satisfy thee but thy God? Will creatures do it? O no. Dost thou not behold a vanity and vexatious quality in whatever is presented to thee? The heaven-born soul will overlook inferior objects, and, if it be itself, will trample under foot whatever is under the sun. Was my seraphic soul created for these things below? Can its desires be terminated on inferior objects? Was it shaped of the earth as my body, and must it return to the earth again? No, no, it comes from God, and to God must return or never be content. The misery of hell consists in exclusion from the chief good, and the souls in that land of darkness can never be satisfied. O my soul, where art thou but as in a present hell whilst separated from God? Thou art like little silly birds that wander from their nests, and lose themselves in woods and groves. Art thou not like Noah's dove that could not find a place adapted for a constant residence? or like a little rivulet that is left behind the proud, tempestuous tide, that runs and slides along

the even sands, and cannot rest till it returns again to be swallowed up in the mighty ocean? O my soul, be not thou a willing prisoner, but make trial whilst thy fetters are on thee, to soar aloft on the wings of faith and love; whilst on the stormy deep, put thyself forward towards the haven, and thou shalt find a happy gale of the spirit of grace to drive thee heavenwards. I bid thee not, my soul, make too much haste, or seek to break open the prison door, or pull down the wall, only look with longing expectation from the window God hath opened for thee. If thou art not wanting to thyself, thou mayest look through, by the eye of faith, towards the new Jerusalem which is above; as Daniel once did. When God sees good to set thee at liberty he will come unto thee, as to Peter, and strike off thy bolts, and gently open the gates and let thee out. Till then, labour to enjoy the presence of thy God, and employ thyself in acts of holiness till thou art taken hence and seen no more.

IV.

What a wretched life do I, poor creature, lead, who am tormented between hope and fear, suspended betwixt heaven and hell, and tortured between two thieves that come to steal my comforts from me—my own corruptions and Satan's temptations. Alas, I am almost weary of my life, my soul is giving up the ghost. O that I could say, "it is finished!" my sins finished, my sorrows finished, my work finished, my woe finished, my life finished; I would bid farewell to all sinful objects, my soul would be free from all corporeal organs, and I would take my leave of all carnal things, those enemies to God and destroyers of my desirable soul-comforts. "O that I had wings like a dove! for then would I fly away and be at rest," from all molesting cares, and hide myself from my enchanting enemies. Methinks I live as on a field of battle, where I hear the terrible noise of combatants, and clashing of warlike weapons. Methinks my darling soul stands just at the mouth of a destructive cannon, ready to be shattered to pieces every moment. Ah! how often doth my soul withdraw and leave my God, which makes him hide his face and bend his bow to shoot at me as an enemy; and though sometimes I cast down my arms and cry for mercy, yet I break my covenant with him and cast his laws behind my back. My greatest enemies are within, and these heart-wars and soul-dissentions are my greatest woes; if I were free from them, my soul would be serene and quiet. Methinks my heart is like Abraham's house, that had a Sarah and a Hagar in it, who could not well agree; an Isaac and Ishmael, who thwarted and contradicted each other. O my soul,

how long must thou be forced to hear the sound of the trumpet and the alarm of war? Must thou always see these sworn adversaries running upon and struggling with each other? The word of God doth quickly answer me, that the flesh and spirit will thus lust against each other, while we have bodies of flesh and regenerated souls united. It is so in thee, my soul, and it is thy happiness it is so and no worse. Thou thinkest thou hast great cause to complain, but thou hast also infinite cause to bless thy God for these heart-battles which are evidences of regeneration, means of thy deeper humiliation, and occasions of the manifestation of God's goodness, and wisdom, and power. O my soul, thou art abundantly indebted to free grace for these tokens of undeserved love, that the strong man armed does not keep secure possession, that God hath infused a living principle within thee, to incline thee towards heaven as thy nature doth towards hell. O never be at rest till corruptions have received their final doom; be not at truce or peace with any darling sin, for thou losest most ground when thou art parleying with the enemy; when thou art tampering with him, he leads thee captive. Come, my soul, be valiant for the truth, put on the whole armour of God, and at last thou shalt prevail against thy foes, and have an everlasting triumph.

V.

O sad, afflicted, and agitated soul! Art thou so enamoured with the world as to make thee loth to leave it? What pleasure canst thou take in feuds and battles? Is not peace better than war? Is it not far better to be at home, under thy father's safe and succouring wings, free from all intestine disturbances and foreign invasions, than to be travelling thy journey, sometimes wet and battered with wind and weather of severe afflictions, and at other times overcome with the sultriness of a prosperous condition? One would think, O my degenerate soul, there would not be so much difficulty to persuade thee freely to lay down this house of clay. But I feel thou art too carnal and corrupt, and, like an angry child, unwilling to go to bed. It is true thou canst not leave it but when thy time is come; but shouldst thou not die daily, and be realizing death as if it were already at the door, as who knows but it is? Shouldst thou not always be prepared to die? Shouldst thou not still carry thy life in thy hand, because thou art not at thy own disposal? Thou art at the disposal of him who will not give thee an account of his proceedings; he will not gratify thee so much as to let thee know the length of thy days, or give thee a lease of thy life, lest it should breed presumption and nourish thy

security. Shouldst thou not therefore be trimming thy lamp, girding thy loins, standing on thy watch, and be ready whenever it shall please God to call? Argue thyself into a dying posture. 'Tis a matter of great moment to pass into eternity, and all a man's time from the cradle to the grave, were it stretched out to the length of the antediluvian patriarchs' lives, would be little enough to be employed in preparation for it. The happiness or misery of this precious and immortal soul depends upon the well or ill improvement of this inch of time. Well then, O my soul, if thy pilgrimage in this tabernacle of clay is spent in the enjoyment of God, O what a double heaven wilt thou have hereafter!

VI.

Sometimes I can remember, that through consciousness of my duty and sense of necessity, I have been drawn to my knees, when at the first my heart was dull, frozen, and stupid; but ere I was aware, I have been greatly enlarged, and have been carried away by the wings of the Spirit as in the chariot of Amminadib. But now woe is me! I felt a strong inclination, (as I thought) to engage in duty, and perceived some movements of a spirit of grace and supplication; but I sensibly discerned the withdrawing of my God by being left to sad, distracting, and disturbing thoughts. Discover to me, dear and gracious God, what is the cause of thy contending thus with me. I know it must be just, and I do first acquit thee before I do expostulate. Is it because I lie under the guilt of some fresh committed sin, or some omitted duty? Is it because at other times I did not watch over my own heart, but gave too much sway to my extravagant affections, and freely entertained wandering thoughts, and now thou wilt punish one sin by another, and make my sin, my judgment? O my soul, what mercies hast thou sinned against, and what miseries art thou now involved in! Had any one ever more cause to be humbled, and was ever any one less humbled? Did ever mercy and folly meet in such degrees in any soul? Alas, dost thou get any good in thus departing from thy God? Art thou not undone without him, and is there not necessity to approach him? Come then, up and be doing, be resolved in the case, and trifle not about things of such moment. Thou must be serious about it, speak to thy heart and ask it, if it will not practise what is so much for its good. If it refuse, provoke it to it; if it draw back urge it on; if it linger, like Lot in Sodom, hasten it forward, let it not stay, nor make delays, nor plead excuses. The longer thou deferrest this duty the more dangerous is thy state. Fall on thy knees this morning, see what God will give thee,

and O do thou give thyself, thy heart, thy hand, thy head, thy all to God.

VII.

O my soul, thou hast been playing the prodigal, and grown exceedingly sensual and grovelling; thou hast been indolent in seeking after things above, and hast been thinking to take up thy rest in things below. Dost thou not hear the voice of God, saying, "Arise ye, and depart; for this is not your rest?" What satisfaction hast thou gained from creatures, as distinct from the Creator? Have not the most hopeful ways to settle and compose thyself proved very ineffectual? God bids thee "cease from man, whose breath is in his nostrils;" and as to worldly means they have proved the greatest disturbers of thy peace. Are not the church's troubles many and likely to be more? Are not thy own troubles many and likely to increase? Art thou not molested from without and from within? Art thou not troubled to see the work of God go on so slowly, and the work of man to be so successful? Doth it not trouble thee to see the afflictions of Joseph and the scattered stones of Jerusalem? Doth it not trouble thee to see the child of Reformation in the birth, and yet no strength to bring forth? Doth it not trouble thee to see the Lord of life and glory so little regarded, and to hear the name of God lamentably blasphemed? Doth it not trouble thee to see so few converted, and so many hardened by the means of grace? to see so many backslide and quite desert the right paths of religion? to see so many loathe the purest and plainest truths and follow after fables? Doth it not trouble thee to see so many precious saints grow cold and dull, and quite relinquish their first love? Doth it not trouble thee to see saints look so shyly one upon another, as if they were not any thing related, because they differ in their judgments? Do not the wicked rejoice in their contentions, and the weak take just offence? Doth it not trouble thee that all these things do trouble thee no more? If thou dost look no farther than thyself, there will appear a sea of personal troubles. Art thou not often troubled that thou art not better qualified for thy work, and that it is no more successful, that sinners are not called and converted, and that saints are not comforted and confirmed? Do not thy bowels yearn over poor ignorant, hard-hearted people, and for some wicked and wretched souls that know not their right hands from their left in spiritual things? Do not these things beat up a march for the removal of thy pitched tent? O my soul, methinks these things should shame thee out of thy security, and provoke thee to industry. Alas, my soul, there are many things amiss in thee that ought to be

amended, many things are perishing that should be repaired, many graces dying that should be recruited, and many lusts reviving that should be mortified. Surely thy work is great, thy time short, and thy strength small; therefore apply to the business with diligence. Be serious in matters of eternity, be resolute for God in his work, be upright with God in his ways, and let all thy actions testify, thou mindest thy everlasting interests more than thy transitory pleasures. Let graces have their perfect work, Christ alone his due esteem, and whatever is against him be perfectly hated in thy breast: at last thy glory shall make amends for all thy misery.

VIII.

How long is it, O my soul, since thou didst delightfully enjoy the presence of thy God in secret? Time hath been, when there was sweet intercourse of love between thy God and thee, when thy heart was melted with tenderness and affection. Time hath been, when the Lord gave thee some special testimonies of his unchangeable love and let thee see thy interest in himself, when he transported thee with the sacred communications of his Spirit, so that thou hast been loth to part with divine employments. But of late there hath been a great strangeness betwixt thee and God, private duties and public exercises have dwindled mostly into outward forms. Will not Nadab and Abihu tell thee that the fire of God's anger is hottest near the altar? Art thou so much exercised in public employments and yet neglectest private and secret humiliation? Dost thou think the one will obtain a dispensation for the neglect of the other? Because thou art exercised much publicly, shouldst thou not so much the more prepare in private? Thou hast said, (and dost thou not believe thyself?) that a man is so far a Christian, as he is one in secret between God and his own soul, and that secret acts of religion are precious tokens of sincerity. Thou mayest do much before men, pray zealously, preach affectionately, and take much pains to divide the word of God aright, and yet all be tainted with the secret leaven of hypocrisy; yea, if thou dost not make conscience of private as well as public duties, thy ends are very liable to suspicion, thy case dangerous, and thy heart too, too deceitful. Thou mayest study hard to obtain human accomplishments, preach in the best manner thou canst to gain credit with men, and pray with fluent expressions to be heard of men, and all this for thy maintenance; but if that be all, alas, pity thyself, and lay thy state to heart. Why dost thou make others believe thou enjoyest something of God in secret, if it be not so? Doth not God scan all thy ways and

know whether things be as they seem? True, indeed, thou mayest cast dust before the eyes of the most eminent saints and make them believe thou art a close walking Christian, and yet remain a licentious atheist in thy closet. God cannot be mocked as men may, nor doth he see as man seeth. Fair words and a false heart will not pass current in the court of heaven. Dost thou not sometimes mention secret communion with God before others? Now, where is it? Wilt thou lie to the Lord, and horribly profane his sacred name? Nay, my soul, do not so wickedly. Art thou not ashamed that others should think better of thee than thou art? Ah, blush when thou dost mention a soul's sweet enjoyment of God, of which thou thyself hast so little experience. Be ashamed of thy negligence in the performance of duties, or thy ready entertainment of strange distracting thoughts therein. Of all the burdens that oppress me, this hard and stupid heart is the greatest load, and is the most dangerous, except the Lord work a miracle in raising the dead.

IX.

Consider, O my soul, what are the actions thou shouldst perform as a preparation for the sabbath which is so near, on which thou hopest to enjoy the gracious presence of thy God. Thou art to preach to God's people to-morrow, preach to thyself to-day. God hath appointed thee to dispense the mysteries of the gospel to others, and do not those mysteries concern thyself as well as them? Wouldst thou be willing that thy people should be saved, and care not if thyself be damned? Is not heaven large enough for all? Art thou so mad as to provide a rich feast, though served up in mean dishes, and to invite others to eat thereof, and wilt thou thyself famish and pine away? Will not the feast prove delightful to thy taste and refreshing to thyself? Mayest thou not then with greater confidence invite thy people to partake abundantly of this spiritual provision, and tell them how good and wholesome it is from thy own experience? The celestial bread of this feast, this divine manna that descends from heaven, is enough to feed all true Israelites for ever. If any want, it is not through deficiency in the treasure, but the insufficiency of the conveyers to poor needy souls. If any die by thirst, it is not that there is a want of the water of life, the fountain is full and overflowing, but because, either with Hagar, men want light to discover the well, or, with the woman of Samaria, they want a bucket to draw with. Well, my soul, seeing there is enough, get thy share; thy people will have none the less but more. Wilt thou not then speak as having been taught those saving truths thou deliverest? When thou dost

mention truths indifferently and heedlessly as if thou gavest not credit to them thyself, how canst thou believe that others will embrace them? Surely if thou failest in this, thou failest in thy duty. Is this course any more than the necessary duty of a Christian? and dost thou cease to be a Christian when thou dost begin to be a minister? God forbid. Dost thou not sometimes instruct the people that their duty, when they have heard the word, is to ruminate upon it; and shouldst not thou do so much the more, seeing there is the concurrence both of thy general and particular calling?

X.

O my soul, hast thou not much to do in preparation for the sabbath? Thou art to pray on behalf both of thyself and people to-morrow. Go to thy God, lie low before him, commence thy suit, and wrest a blessing from his hands by importunity. Thou hast often met with God's presence in his work, but doth that engage him in thy favour so that he should not act freely? He hath never left thee to thyself, but doth that evince either that thy piety or abilities are the stronger? or that, if God should leave thee, thou wilt be able to go on as successfully as before? No, no, if he hath been thy helper, thou art the more beholden to free grace. O praise him for these former supplies of his grace, prize at a higher rate the influences of his Spirit, admire him for those sweet tokens of love sent in public ordinances to thee, and pray hard for his assisting and accepting grace to-morrow. Plead promises with him, bewail thy inability without him, wrestle for a blessing from him, and do not let him go till thy heart be affected as a presage of future mercies. Shouldst thou not likewise, O my soul, put in a word for thy people? If God enlarge thee ever so much in speaking, and give thee a wide and open door of utterance, what good will that do except he bow the ears of the people, and give them a door of entrance? The rain of heaven may fall and yet the earth remain barren, the seed may be sown yet never come to perfection, except God cause it to fructify. The spiritual husbandman may dig and take much pains to little purpose; the plants of the Lord springing in the church will never bear much fruit, except they be well rooted below and well watered above;—and can mortal man do this? If the word come to man only by the strength of man, the power of man can easily resist it; but if it come with God's power it shall prevail; then the security of man cannot abide its force, and the wilful impenitency and obstinacy of man cannot counteract or withstand it; it will prove itself the power of God unto salvation. Apply to the throne of grace, take no denial, and God will own thy

prayers and crown thy pains with desired success in the conversion of souls.

XI.

Advance thyself once again, my soul, and mount up heavenwards; up and be doing, and delight thyself with anticipations of thy rest. Look upon heaven as a reality, and view thy property therein; survey the delights thereof, and see if all these things will not affect thy heart with admiration, and transport thee with holy ecstacy beyond thyself? Let others dream of golden mountains and glittering sands, and hang their hopes on castles in the air; yet keep thou to this orthodox truth, that heaven is above,—that the celestial city hath foundations, whereas the earth hath none but hangs on nothing in the air. Do thou fix the anchor of thy hope beyond the mortal veil of flesh, in the vast and boundless ocean of eternity. Bathe thyself in the rivers of pleasure, and see if it will not set thee longing for full enjoyment. O my soul, what a life mightest thou live if heaven were as much in thy thoughts as earth, if thy mind were lifted up above this inferior world, conversing with the Lord of life and glory. Say now, what is it thou canst desire that heaven cannot afford? If thou wouldst have a confluence of all good things, behold enough to satisfy the enlarged desires of the most capacious mind. Whither wouldst thou aspire? Canst thou be exalted higher than into the highest room? But mayest thou enjoy this felicity? Yes, surely; God is serious in offering it, why then should I question it? Did God ever dissemble to obtain proselytes? Harbour not such a blasphemous thought. Yes, he will give it to some, but may I have any share therein? Why not thou, O my soul? Hath he made such large and liberal promises to give a kingdom to his flock, and why not to thee? But I am a poor sinful, wretched, worthless creature? What then? Art thou beyond the reach of free grace? Canst thou think to be accepted on thy own account? Was ever any one admitted for his deserts, or excluded for want of merit? Are not those thrust out who come to buy heaven, and such received as come to beg entrance? The poor receive the gospel, which is the kingdom of heaven, and that kingdom of heaven will receive them. Canst thou but get to be poor in spirit, God will make thee rich in faith; the poorer thou art in thyself the richer in him. If poverty were all, that I know would be dispensed with; but I am not only poor but a bankrupt, being many thousand talents in debt in the book of heaven; and dost thou think that will hinder? Is not he that is willing to make thee rich, able also to pay thy debt? Did Christ die to enrich thee and not to set thee free?

Or dost thou think thy debts are beyond the price of his infinite satisfaction? Are thy garments filthy? Fear not, he hath change of raiment; all he bids thee do is, to be willing to part with thine and change them for his glorious robes; and art thou not desirous of that? Ah, yes, fain enough long since, God knows. My sins have been my burden, and shall I not thank the hand that takes off such a load? O my soul, wouldst thou not have the Lord Jesus on his own terms, to be thy Sovereign as well as Saviour, to be thy lawgiver and to rule thee according to his will, though against thy carnal bias? My soul, if thou art willing, he is very willing; then the engagement is made, and nothing now shall part us asunder. Thou hast the Lord firm enough in his word, the writings are made in the scriptures, the debt is cancelled, the promises ratify it, the oath of God seals it, and the blessed Trinity confirm it by all their united acts for thy salvation; the saints in heaven and earth are legal witnesses. Hath not God wrought something in thee above and beyond nature, and doth he not act towards thee as if he meant to save thee? Else, what mean those strong convictions thou once hadst, taking thee from all thy carnal rests? What mean those pangs of regeneration formerly, and those constant warrings in thy breast against Satan? What mean that fearfulness to offend God, carefulness to walk according to his revealed will, those withdrawings of thy heart from sublunary vanities and resting on the chief good? Surely these footsteps of free grace and traces of undeserved love upon thy heart, indicate more than a common work. Look on heaven as thy own, and rejoice therein as thy peculiar portion. Will not the heir of an estate be delighted with the consideration of what he shall hereafter enjoy? And wilt not thou, O my soul, delight thyself in heaven though at some distance? Advance thyself and soar heavenwards in panting ejaculations.

XII.

Thou hast now been, my soul, to visit a dear friend on a sick bed, and hast delighted thyself in holy conference about matters of great concern. Follow those tender sensations thou hast felt, until thou art as full of comfort as thy heart can hold. Miss not so fair an opportunity, but spread thy sails, for now a gale of grace blows, so that the ship of the soul may be conveyed nearer the haven. Blow up the small spark into a flame, for it may do thee much good in consuming thy corruptions, and thawing into godly sorrow thy hard, frozen, and icy heart. It may be of use in warming and kindling thy cold and indifferent affections. It is true, alas! that it is only as a little spark

compared with a mighty ocean; but is not God omnipotent? Can he not preserve as well as create grace in the heart? Then fear not, O my soul, all the enemies of thy salvation; they may disturb thee, but cannot ruin thee. Christ who "is mighty to save," hath taken the government of the world on his own shoulders; he bears up the pillars of his church, and preserves all his people; he can "save to the uttermost," because he can keep to the utmost extremity, yea, and beyond the utmost malice of the fiends of hell; they are but finite, he is infinite. If, upon solid grounds, thou believest thyself to be a partaker of grace, or if any spark of it be in thee, that divine nature shall not be lost. Blessed be that God who hath devised an extraordinary method for the salvation of poor souls, and doth resolve to carry them through by his almighty arm. My soul is the Lord's deposit, in safe custody, and I am persuaded that "he is able to keep that which I have committed unto him against that day." My spiritual life may be hid from me, but it is safe enough if it be "hid with Christ in God." He that hides can surely find, though I cannot, and make me so to find my God that I shall never lose sight of him for ever.

XIII.

What changes are there, O my soul, in this thy passage to eternity! What sudden alterations dost thou experience in a little time! Thou art travelling through a wilderness, wherein the way is hills and dales. No sooner dost thou pass over one mountain of opposition in thy journey, than thou art involved in the contrary extreme of a low condition. Sometimes thou art sinking in deep mire, and then again thou art set upon the rock that is higher than thou; sometimes the meridian sun doth enlighten the Goshen of my soul, and then again black Egyptian darkness overspreads me. My God sometimes, for reasons of his own and for ends best known to himself, doth leave me to seek far for spiritual evidences, so that I doubt whether I have any spiritual life at all. My pulse at times beats very slowly heavenwards, nay, I give up myself as dead: yet Christ comes and tells me, I am not dead but sleeping. Ah! thought I, this is a dead sleep: canst thou awake me? Then came my merciful Saviour and subdued my unbelief with a soul-reviving word, saying, "Come forth." Then I felt as Peter, James, and John, on the mount when Christ was transfigured, willing still to be in such a place and state. I thought I was as with the two disciples going to Emmaus, my heart burnt within me when I heard him speaking. Never did a poor fatigued traveller, in a hot summer's day, find such a shadow to shelter his

weary body. I was as happy as Jonah under his gourd, but Jonah's gourd was quickly gone and so was mine. Then I seemed to myself in a worse state than before. What was the cause of the change I know not, but I partly guess that some secret sin was the worm that gnawed the vitals of my spiritual comforts. Ah sin! must thou always come to interrupt me in my spiritual enjoyments? Shall I always carry in me a proud, hard, sensual, backsliding heart? Will these corruptions always take away my communion with God? Must weariness and distracting thoughts still prevail against me? It is a hard case, that God the owner of my soul cannot bear rule in his house as he pleaseth, but these unmannerly lusts will always be intruding, and when he thrusts them out and bolts the door, my treacherous heart within opens to Satan without. But I must not despair, for the Lord will help me at the last, and I shall sing triumphant songs when he hath delivered me out of the hand of all my enemies.

XIV.

What a great disproportion is there, O my soul, betwixt a life in glory and in this present state, though in the kingdom of grace! There is nothing here but sinning and suffering; there is nothing there but singing and triumph. These sins of mine may accompany me in all my natural, civil, and spiritual actions here, and attend me to my death-bed; but that is the furthest they shall go, they shall leave me when the soul leaves the body; sin can no more go with me to heaven, than one spark of true grace shall be thrust down to hell. O my soul, thou canst scarce obtain a day or an hour to spend it totally without some trouble, or free from vain-distracting thoughts in communion with God; but it shall be otherwise in the world above. Fear not, a time will come, when no ignorance shall becloud thy understanding, no perverseness shall militate against the rational acts of thy reformed will, no irregularity shall withdraw thy well-turned affections out of their right course of holy and honourable devotion. Thy weak and brittle memory, that used to forget what is good and to be tenacious of evil, shall then discharge its duty, and easily recollect what shall substantiate God's works of wonder, and prove the security of thy own felicity. My soul, thou wilt not then complain of God's withdrawings from thee, of his shutting out thy prayers, or rather praises. Thou wilt not then bemoan the loss of the light of his countenance, or the hidings of his face in anger, or withdrawing himself behind the curtain, or wrapping himself up in a thick cloud, so that thy prayers cannot pass through. No,

thy God will there say to thee once for all, that he is well pleased with thee for his Son's sake. Thou wilt have no need to fear backsliding as thou often didst here; no, he that hath brought thee through many changes, will keep thee there above and without a change; he that is himself immutable will make thee so too. Thy case will be far better than Adam's in paradise, whose white robe of innocence was soon changed to a dismal garb of depravity. God gave him a power to stand only if he would, but he will give thee both the will and the power of keeping thy firm station. He that gives thee change of raiment will never change thy raiment; he that clotheth thee with linen clean and white, which is the righteousness of saints, will never divest thee of thy garments, which have been washed and made white in the blood of the Lamb. O my soul, when thou hast been washed in the water of sanctification, that issued from the blessed side of Christ when hanging on the cross, how often, alas! hast thou returned to thy swinish wallowing in the mire, and then again the Lord hath pitied and purified thee. How often hast thou resolved against corruptions, and then broken thy bonds, and made new work for thy soul again to renew its repentance! Thus thou dost spend thy days as in a circle, sometimes in offending thy God, and then getting reconciled, sinning again and then being reconciled again; it may be so here, but shall not be so hereafter. If thou dost but once enter eternity, thou mayest there bathe thy soul in sweet delights that shall never end, and account it the perfection of thy happiness, that there will be no end of thy perfection, happiness, and glory. Thou shalt meet no more with stagnant pools of waters that might contaminate thy soul, but drink abundantly of those rivers of pleasures that are at God's right hand, and flow for evermore. These things will thy God do for thee and not forsake thee.

XV.

Methinks, I hear the sad complaint of ancient prophets revived and pathetically uttered, by the servants of God in the ministry at this day: "Who hath believed our report? and to whom is the arm of the Lord revealed?" This, alas! is the current language of the most sensible and conscientious ministers, though I could desire it were my case alone. I should be freely content, yea, very glad if the work were done by any, though I had no share in the praise thereof; so far am I from envying such as are successful in the good work. But alas! this is the common lot of many beside myself. Ah, sad is the case and much to be lamented! for by it God loseth his glory,

people lose their souls, and ministers their pains. God I know can get much glory to his justice by the destruction of souls; but this is not so much for preachers' consolation, nor the advancement of free grace. And must poor ministers expend their property and weary out their bodies, must they pray and preach, read and study, night and day, with many apprehensions and tears, and the result of all be nothing else but the damnation of souls? Shall we exert ourselves to the utmost in accommodating truths to our people's ears, seek to find out acceptable words, waste our lungs, injure our health, and exhaust our spirits in spreading before our people the richly furnished table of the gospel, together with a view of their forlorn state, and with seriousness in the name of Christ invite and urge them to partake freely or else they will perish; and yet for all this people be no better? This damps our courage, and sinks our spirits, to see our hopes disappointed, our ends thwarted, and our designs frustrated, so that we are almost ashamed to own our work. I have sometimes scrupled whether I could with a clear conscience receive any wages from my people, seeing I benefit them so little. It is a heavy case; if we look about us on one side, there is a set of boon companions who spend their days in mirth, and out of compliment once a month, it may be, attend on the public ordinance; these are far out of the reach of the word, except we could speak so loudly that they could hear us at their alehouse bench. Others come ordinarily, but they either sleep their time away or stare it out, and with the adder stop their ears and will not hear the charmer's melodious tune that might rouse them out of their security. Others either audaciously outface the clearest truths of God, or loathe the heavenly manna. Some smother any convictions of heart by profane practices. Others with whom we have taken much pains, of whom we have conceived good hopes, from whom we expected much fruit to God's glory; these alas! that were so forward in religion, turn out of the way and embrace novel things, dote upon vanities, and follow after lies; and if any wind of doctrine come they are quickly carried over deck into a sea of error. It is a sad thing to see our people seduced before our eyes, and we know not how to help it. It is a painful spectacle to witness our dearest, natural, civil, and as we hoped, our christian friends that professed much love to us, as the Galatians to Paul, now railing upon us with the most opprobrious and reviling nicknames, and saying, they are now set at liberty from those insulting priests and Babylonish enchanters. All this aggravates our grief. Should not all the ministers in the nation expostulate with God, and earnestly desire him to

show the cause of his contending with them? It is the bitterest cup a poor minister can taste, except it be hell itself, when he must study, preach, pray, and be very conscientious in the discharge of ministerial duties, and all to sink men deeper in misery, to make them more inexcusable, and their condemnation more intolerable. Our doctrine is generally a savour of life, but may prove a savour of death through men's corruptions. God departs by degrees. The effectual power of God may be removed from his ordinances, first, in refusing a converting power to them; then he may remove some candlesticks and leave us in twilight, and at last quite vanish out of sight: or else he may extinguish all the lights and so leave the poor nation involved in darkness. This is sad; but if we discharge our duties as ministers, be diligent in watching over our people's souls, our labour will return to our own bosom to our eternal advantage; though we may be disappointed, and Israel be not gathered, yet if we be found in Christ, we shall be glorified, and that will be compensation for our sorrows.

XVI.

Return again, my soul, into thine own bosom, and search the secret conclaves of thy heart. How happy wast thou in the sweet enjoyment of thy God! How joyful wast thou when the whispers of God's comforting Spirit told thee of thy interest in Christ, the pardon of thy sins, and saving of thy soul! But how sad shouldst thou now be when all these things are hid from thine eyes! Thy fellowship with the Father and the Son, through the Spirit, did rejoice thy heart; but now, alas! my soul is like a moaning turtle-dove deprived of her mate. Once I can remember, upon good and solid grounds I could call Christ my dear and much loved friend, my elder brother, and he did take it well at my unworthy hands; but now, methinks, I dare not speak unto him, because I have spoken so much against him. He may justly speak against me in his fury, and vex me in his sore displeasure. I dare not now call him my God, lest I should miscall him, and he be angry with me for using such a title. I dare not call him to me for my help, lest instead of a friend he show himself an enemy, and tear my soul in pieces like a lion. He hath already withdrawn himself, he hides his face and writes bitter things against me, and makes me to possess the sins of my life and heart. Methinks I could well take up those sad and bitter complaints of those holy men of God in scripture, Job and David; but alas! how short am I of them in sorrow for the Lord's displeasure. Methinks I could mourn my Lord's departure in the words,

but cannot with the heart of Christ, when in the sorest agony that ever the sun perceived, he said, "My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?" But there is this great difference, he spoke with a confident persuasion of his relation to God the Father (being his eternal Son in whom he was even then well pleased,) but I dare not affirm my interest in the Lord. To the latter part of the sentence I have reason to subscribe, but the former I cannot fully appropriate; I have lost my evidence, yet may the Lord help me to keep near to him by a close adherence. I will not quite despond in mind, renounce my hopes, and give up my all as lost; for suppose the work never was right, and grace was never wrought, yet there is hope if I do now begin the work anew. I dare not call in question God's truth and faithfulness, nor must I deny what God hath done for my poor soul; I will not say, "Is his mercy clean gone for ever, and will he be favourable no more?" I hope I shall acknowledge the Lord's infinite mercy though he condemn me, and affirm against all atheistical thoughts and diabolical insinuations, that God is true to his part of the covenant, but I have been most false and perfidious in mine; I alone am the cause of this my sorrow. Should God not only hide his face for awhile, but make all my days in the flesh dark and dismal, and at last exclude me from his presence for ever, I could find no fault with him, I must necessarily justify the Lord; for he is "holy in all his ways, and righteous in all his works" of justice as well as mercy. But, O my soul, be of good cheer, raise thy hopes and consider whom thou hast to deal with—an infinite God, and not a mortal man, and therefore one who hath the best design in bestowing his spiritual mercies. Suppose the Lord frown now, he may smile hereafter; though he be angry he may be pacified, his wrath endureth for a moment, but his loving-kindness is everlasting. This is but a storm raised by the vapours of thy sins, it will quickly be blown over, and God will return. He withdraws but for thy good, to make thee prize the means of grace more. Perhaps he doth it to convince thee of thy sloth and sensuality, to animate thee to future diligence, to deter thee from future backsliding, or to try thy truth and sincerity. Wait awhile and thou wilt see he will shine upon thy poor, forlorn, and sad condition, and restore comforts to thee notwithstanding all this mourning. In the mean time, my soul, be silent, shut thy mouth, accuse not God, repine not at his dispensations, submit to his will, and drink the bitter cup which God hath prepared for thee; perhaps he may mingle some honey with the gall. But if the Lord should draw thee all the way through fire, darkness, and death, yet if he lead thee to

peace, light, and life at last, he will be a perfect Saviour and thou an infinite gainer; heaven will make amends for all. The sharper thy way the sweeter will be thy home, and the length of the road in the wilderness will give a better relish to Canaan's milk and honey.

XVII.

Stir up thyself, O my forsaken soul, and run to God. Shame upon this indolent humour! It will slay my soul and strengthen my corruptions, it will revive my sins and crucify my graces. Go to God, my soul, the guilt of many conscience-wasting sins are upon thee, both of omission and commission; and is it not dangerous to sleep in such a state? Can it be safe to be in rebellion against the King of heaven, who can crush thee to nothing in a moment by a word or a touch? Is there not unspeakable hazard in resting without a reconciled God? How knowest thou but he may send thee out of the world before the day dawn; and is it not a matter of some moment to go into eternity especially in this thy great uncertainty? Dost thou not fear this great and mighty Jehovah, who, after he hath killed the body, can cast both body and soul to hell? If a strong man armed should stand at thy bedside vowing thy death, couldst thou sleep quietly? Yet he could not do thee a thousandth part of the evil the Lord can do: there is no greater happiness than to have God thy friend, and no greater misery than to have him thy enemy. Give him then no rest day or night until he hear, and hearing, help, and helping, bring a suitable remedy to thy restless state. Tell him, O my soul, what he himself hath said, what Christ hath suffered, and urge him with all the golden, gracious, precious promises in his sacred book. Tell God, thou hast deserved the flames of his justice for ever; but ask him if he delighteth not to show mercy? Tell him thou art not worthy to be called a son; but ask him if he will not admit thee once again into his family, to be amongst his lowest servants? Tell God all the odious circumstances of thy sins, that thou mayest be vile in thy own eyes; but ask him if he delights not in pardoning iniquity, transgression, and sin? Expostulate the case thus with God, and spread thy cause before him. Let God perceive by thy groans that though thou art a sinner, yet thou art a repenting sinner; though a prodigal, yet a returning prodigal. As thy offences have been against light and strong convictions; so let thy repentance be full of light and strong resolutions.

As thou hast used means to draw thyself to sin, so now use arguments to drive thyself to God. As thou hast met temptations, and courteously shaken hands with Satan's suggestions;

so now bestir thyself to get rid thereof and bid an everlasting farewell to them. Commit thyself to God, and let nothing satisfy but the enjoyment of his presence. Use all appointed means to attain this good end. Pray, read, and meditate till thou find him whom thou lovest. But make not thy duties thy saviours, for so they will prove thy destroyers. Do what thou canst, but trust in nothing that thou dost; lay all the stress, both for acceptance and assistance, upon the grace of God in Christ. Though thou deservest to be hated notwithstanding all thy best performances, for thine own sake, yet perhaps he may save thee and delight in thee, for the sake of the Beloved of his own bosom, and satisfy thee with the discovery of his love in due time, and never leave thee comfortless again.

XVIII.

Come once again, my soul, and let me bring thee to the touchstone, lest God hereafter try thee and thou be faulty. Are thy graces become more in number and degree than formerly? Are thy corruptions weaker than before? Is thy heart softer and holier than it was the last year, month, or week? Are thy affections nearer heaven and more delighted in thy God? Is thy judgment sounder, clearer, and more raised than heretofore? Dost thou see a greater vanity in inferior objects and a greater excellency in Christ, grace, and gospel mysteries? Is thy conversation more divine, testifying thy nearer approach to heaven? What sayest thou, are these things thus in thee, and dost thou feel thyself in such a posture? Methinks thou art like poor Israel in the wilderness that was still travelling for forty years, but gained little ground, that went about this and the other hill and came again to the same place; so my soul is trudging on and gets not forward, and for one step forward sometimes goes three back. Methinks my soul is like a lazy scholar that comes awhile to school, and then is taken off, or plays the truant, and loseth all that ever he had learned; so my truant soul begins a little to follow its business, but something takes it off, and then there is a return to its former state of indolence. Sometimes I have taken much pains with this dull and heavy heart of mine to raise it heavenwards, and when I have got it to some degree of heavenly elevation, down it falls again. No sooner do I weed out of the field of my barren heart the tares of sin, than it is quickly overgrown again with sensual cogitations. For shame, my soul, dost thou not see that thy inferiors in years, who set out long after thee, have left thee far behind? Some that had not such means of growth have, by their industry, attained to more soli-

dity of comfort, stability in graee, certainty of faith, and ferveney of spirit. New converts are fresh and lively, raised more in their affections, more constant in their communion with God, more steady in their holy conversation, and more filled with sweet experienee of God's love to their souls. Alas! must thou be still complaining of thy revolting and backsliding heart? Must thou lament thy state and spend thy days in mournful elegies? Shouldst thou not have taken thy flight into the more noble and elevated parts of christianity, and soul-transporting enjoyments of thy God? Shouldst thou not have been delighting thyself in anticipations of eternity, and rising in holy wishes and longings for thy rest? Shouldst thou not by this time have trodden Satan under foot, bid defianee to thy desperate foe, and been rid of thy baneful strong eorruptions that haunt thee? But, alas! how unstable art thou thus to retreat, advance, and then retreat again. How mournful is it to spend thy days in lamentable strains, sometimes up and sometimes down, and often at a loss, and far to seek for peace, comfort, and a sense of pardon! How long must it be thus with thee? When will it be that I shall hear thee say, as good old Simeon, "Lord, now let thy servant depart in peaee, aceording to thy word; for mine eyes have seen thy salvation?" When will my soul be settled in a firm posture, my heart as full of spiritual joy as it ean hold, and nothing wanting but the breaking down of this wall of flesh, that I may be in my Father's palaee rejoicing in him and with him for ever? Ah! must I never see the happy day, when I may bring God more glory, and be more useful in my place and calling? Lord, help me to mend my pace, and run my race with more delight, and press towards the prize of the high calling of God in Christ Jesus.

XIX.

Ah, little did I think, my soul, thou wouldst have been so long from God and longed so little for eommunion with him! But now I see something of the boundless depth of my deeeitful heart; who ean know it? Full often has God's blessed Spirit spoken loud in thy deaf ears, saying, return, return; but thou hast stopped thy ears and strenuously resisted, quenched, and grieved the Holy Spirit. Sometimes thon hast been willing to listen to the suggestions of God's Spirit but flesh and blood and earnal reasonings have diverted thy intentions. Sometimes thou hast begun with serious sadness to weep and pray, and exereise faith in the Lord, but hast been taken off by violent distractions, and vehement wanderings of thy heart. Come now, my soul, what is it that is wont to keep

thee from this duty? Is it the guilt of many sins that drives thee from the Lord? Hast thou not the greater need on that account to approach unto him, who hath enjoined all weary and heavy laden souls to repose themselves on him? Must not thy sin be laid on Christ or on thyself? and whether dost thou think can better bear it, infinite God-man, or finite worm-man? Or doth thy long absence from God affright thee and thy strangeness to him terrify thee? The rather and sooner must thou come on that account. Is there any good to be had in distance from him? and wilt thou be more prepared another time than now? Art thou afraid that God is so displeased with thee that he will not receive thee? Consider, hath not God often said, he will heal backsliders and receive offending prodigals? Venture then, and again put God to it, thou shalt find him faithful to his promises. Was ever any rejected that repented; or canst thou find examples to testify God's unkindness? Nay, nay, my soul, recollect thy own experience, and that may keep thee from discouragement. Repair to God, for that is indispensable, and let not a supposition of thy rejection make thee run into inevitable destruction. Believing is a venture, and will not a merchant venture much on a probability? A may-be, is ground enough for faith on scripture precedents. Who knows but God may return and leave a blessing behind?

XX.

God's people are now in public and I am deprived of their society; but it is by reason of my incapacity. My heart is with them and fain would this frail body follow; but at present God hath clipped my wings and manacled my legs, bolted my chamber door, and made that my prison which was wont to be my palace. But God is just and deals most righteously with me. My heart was formerly imprisoned in his service; now my body is imprisoned from his service in public. I looked not to my feet when I trod the way to his house; now he keeps my feet from treading in it. My heart was at home sometimes when my body was exercised in public duties; now my body is at home, and my heart is, I hope, with God and his saints in the courts of his house. I have made the Lord's day too much like a week day in sinning and neglecting God's service; now he makes it like a week day in my being absent from public worship. I have not made sabbath day duties a delight; now God hath made the sabbath day wearisome through pain. My soul hath not returned from its rest in sinning: now God keepeth my body from rest in suffering. My church devotion has been too much confined to form; now my heart devotion is con-

fined to my chamber. I appeared in public what I was not in private; now I cannot appear in public any part of what I am. As I have done, so God hath done to me, though not according to my deserts, but in faithfulness hath he afflicted me, and in much tenderness too; for though he hath excluded me from public yet not from private communion. Though the promise of his presence be to two or three met in his name in public, yet he excludes not single persons from the blessing in private. He meets his hidden ones in any corner where they find him. Though he feeds his flock beside the shepherd tents, yet he can carry the lambs in his arms, give them food alone, and make them lie down in a green pasture. His Spirit moves most on the waters of the sanctuary, yet he is not straitened nor is his hand shortened; he is a well of living waters and as streams from Lebanon. God is omnipresent, therefore the true worshippers respect neither mount Zion nor the mountain of Samaria, but worship him in spirit and in truth. He respects places no more than persons, let it be church or chamber. If I may enjoy thee, O Lord, no matter where it is, thy presence makes a palace of a prison, but the want of it makes a paradise, a dungeon, a hell; where the prince's presence is, there is the court. I would rather have communion with thee here, without thy people, than have communion with thy people in thy house, without thee. Far be it from me to reject the public ordinances, or forsake the assembling of the saints, as too many do, I might then be branded with the odious name of a conceited separatist. No, no, I prefer a day in God's courts before a thousand elsewhere; but, now, when debarred from public and confined to my private devotions, I would make the best improvement thereof I can. O that God would lift up the light of his countenance upon me, and shine into my soul with the beams of his light and love! Help me, Lord, to perform those duties alone which I am accustomed to perform in public. Was I God's mouth to his people? Let me speak with his voice and words unto myself in heavenly soliloquies, holy meditations, and serious self-expostulations, examining myself about sincerity, spurring on myself to the practice of duties, reproving myself for any iniquity, and encouraging myself with scripture promises. Was I the people's mouth to God in prayer? Let me pour out my soul in bitter complaints for sin, in serious requests for pardoning, sanctifying, assisting and accepting grace, and for a supply of all wants. As I believe the prayers of my congregation are for me, so let my prayers be knocking at heaven's gate for them, that his servant may be assisted in speaking, the people edified in hearing, and that it may be a good day to them.

Did I stir up others to the duty of praise? Let me make melody in my heart to the Lord and rejoice in him. Surely it will be no small mercy, if by, and in, and after this affliction my God prepare me faithful and fruitful improvement of such days as these, and my heart be better qualified to sanctify God's name in holy duties, when I shall again be brought to worship him in the beauty of holiness and speak to his praise in the great congregation; or else bring me to sing praises to his name in heaven, and spend an everlasting sabbath with saints and angels.

XXI.

The time of affliction, O my soul, is a special season for self-examination. We must search and try our ways when God examines us by scourging. Enter therefore into thyself, try thy state, and enquire the cause of God's contending with thee. O Lord, what was it made thee touch so sharply this flesh of mine? Didst thou make my head to ache because my head did first devise to sin, and then contrive excuses for it? Were my senses the inlets of sorrow because they were first the windows of sin? Was every member of my body a patient in suffering, because every one was an agent in sinning? Didst thou strike my flesh with trembling because I trembled not at thy word, nor stood in awe of thy majesty? Didst thou bring sometimes an ague because I was cold in devotion, and sometimes a fever because I was zealous in transgression, and sometimes both because I was lukewarm in my profession? Didst thou strike my bones and joints with torturing pains from head to foot, because they have been instruments of unrighteousness, so nimble for iniquity, and so inflexible to goodness? Didst thou make my heart sick and faint? Was it not for the many fleshly lusts that have been hatched there? Was not my stomach weak because I had no appetite for gospel food, but did nauseate the saving dictates of thy truth? Was my brain oppressed with cloudy fears, or grown light for want of sleep? It was because my soul was too much burdened with the world, set on vanities, and not employed about eternity. Was my whole body made a cage of foul diseases? Surely the cause is clear, my soul was too fruitful a mother and nurse of the plague of the heart. Since then, my soul, the cause of this sickness is so evident that he that runs may read, freely accept of this punishment of thy sin, lay thy hand upon thy mouth, strike upon thy breast and say, what have I done? Thy conscience will quickly answer, thou hast done that which might have undone thee for ever. Never complain of thy punishment, since thou art alive and out of hell.

XXII.

Reflect upon thyself, O my soul, and view thy behaviour under God's afflicting hand. It was difficult to see a father's love in all the displeasure manifested, to discover a smiling face through all these frowns; yet, through grace, I had a glimpse by the eye of faith, beyond nature and reason, so that he helped me to bear my burden in some measure with patience and submission. Various thoughts assaulted my troubled breast; sometimes I took my farewell of the earth and welcomed immortality with a hopeful embrace. Amidst these thoughts I was involved in the apostle's dilemma, not knowing which to choose, life or death. Sometimes I thought it was my own unprofitableness that deprived me of a capacity for doing God's service in gathering in his people, and that my sin would make my sun to set in the morning of my days and infancy of my ministry. Therefore I begged of God a few more days to spend them better; but then immediately I thought this was flesh. Hath not God a sufficient number to do his work far better than I can? Is it not best to be in my Father's house? Who would plead himself out of home and rest? Then I looked through another glass and earnestly desired a change, and wished for death, like a kind porter, to let me into my Father's palace; for what is here, thought I, but an evil world without and a wicked heart within! And what is there in heaven but holiness and happiness, enough to keep the souls of the blessed in an ecstacy to all eternity? Thus was the desire of life swallowed up in the joys of which death would give me possession. Yet I could not rest here, I was afraid lest that desire was too mean and slavish, making the ground of my wish to be freedom from my trials. In this perplexing state, because I felt how unfit I was to dispose of myself, I put myself into the hands of my gracious God desirous of submitting to his will. One night after tedious tossings from pain until three o'clock, I was assualted with a violent temptation of Satan, persuading me that these pains were the foretastes infernal torments, in which they would shortly end. I answered him with such passages as God furnished me out of his word, and sometimes I prayed God to aid me in resisting the devil, or to turn aside the fiery darts: this he abundantly answered. Blessed be God.

XXIII.

Time was, O my soul, when thou didst fear, with Abraham, the heavy doom of being written childless; but now, through grace, the scene is altered and thou mayest say with Jacob, here be the children God hath graciously given thee. I may

say so of the fruit of my body, but more so of the travail of my soul; the first is a precious mercy, but the latter is of more value. The conversion of one sinner saves a soul from death, covers a multitude of sins, and restores fallen man to circumstances superior to the state of Adam. This, this, brings glory to God, joy to the angels, benefit to the saints, and enlargement to the church; it is the fruit of the Saviour's travail with which he is satisfied. The glory of a prince is the multitude of his subjects, and thus Christ is glorified when sinners are converted. It is a glorious work in the hand of the worthiest instrument, but the wonder increases if the means be considered. Hadst thou been some profound scholar, or learned interpreter, one of a thousand, some acute Apollos, an eloqent man, mighty in the scriptures, it would have appeared more probable by a proportion of the means to the end. Or hadst thou been some thundering Boanerges, some zealous awakening Paul, less of God and more of man would have appeared in the work. But the Lord did single thee out to be an example of his wonderful and glorious work; he chooseth weak things, yea, and things that are not, to bring to nought things that are, that no flesh should glory in his presence; and therefore often doth great things by very unlikely means. The work indeed would become angelic spirits, what then is a babe, a worm, an earthen vessel? thou art not worthy to be reckoned one of the honourable regiment of the clergy, being inferior to most in abilities, yet few have had thy success. How many dost thou hear make sad complaints how little good they do! Many famous, skilful, and laborious servants of God, whose books thou art not worthy to carry after them, have spent much precious time and poured out many prayers and tears on behalf of men's souls, but have won very few if any to Christ. What troubled spirits have many revered ministers carried with grey hairs to the grave! Surely the race is not to the swift nor the battle to the strong; no, no, free grace makes choice of the word and person to work by, and lays aside others that we conceive more adapted. The reason why the Lord should work by one and not by another, is the same as why he loveth one person and not another: "Even so, Father, for so it seemeth good in thy sight." It was not because thou wast inclined to, and designed for, this work from a child, nor because thy aim was upright in making choice of this high function; nor because when in sickness thou didst solemnly vow to God, that if he would restore thee thou wouldst serve him at the altar all the days of thy life; nor was it because thy dear relations did wrestle hard with God for thee and thy people, that the Lord would crown thy

endeavours with abundant fruitfulness: though I do believe this great mercy is a wonderful return of prayer, yet none of these nor all of them together could have effected such a design, nor moved the Lord to work, had not free grace prepared our hearts to seek and bowed his ear to hear. Thus the Alpha and Omega were from him, who is the author and finisher of faith, and we may cry, grace, grace, to the fountain of all grace. My soul, make thy boast in the Lord, that the humble may hear thereof and be glad; from him cometh all my salvation. Do thou, my soul, cast down thy crown before the throne and give glory and honour to him that sitteth thereon, for he is worthy to receive glory and praise for ever. All I fear is, lest I should not be thankful for, sensible of, and faithful under this invaluable mercy; lest I should not improve it; or lest I should arrogate too much to myself. O my soul, beware of the ticklings of pride and self-conceit! Thou hast had woful experience of a deceitful heart in a like case. When the Lord helps thee with life and power in any exercise thou art nearest to a snare and fall; the devil and thy depraved heart are very busy, and when he cannot overturn by one extreme he drives into another. O, beware of these things, and remember, thou hast nothing which thou hast not received. Beware of thoughts aspiring above my reverend brethren, and think not better of thyself than those to whom God gives little success. They may be more gracious, laborious, and higher in God's favour, and may be very useful in training up converted souls, satisfying the scrupulous, and comforting the dejected. God gives diversity of gifts and different success to those gifts: he is wise, gracious, and faithful in his dispensations; admire God in all and despise none. Wait, my soul, on the Lord, plead with holy jealousy that poor converts may not look back, and that thou, after having wrought on others, mayest not be a cast away.

XXIV.

Hardly, O my soul, canst thou bear the sunshine of a gratifying mercy without dark obscuring clouds of trouble and affliction. The Lord thy God hath often honoured thee before all the people, and now he hath left thee to endure some disgrace before them. He lately withdrew himself from thee on his own day, less sensibly, but very discernible to thyself and some judicious Christians. Thou didst not make that use thereof which God required, and therefore yesterday he left thee to struggle in thy own strength, to do just nothing. Surely it is a thing much to be observed, and thy frame of spirit much to be lamented. O humble thyself before the Lord,

and see what thou canst make of this dispensation! Were it tending only to thy personal shame and open discredit, it were less matter, though a due estimation of thy person may make way for the reception of thy message; but the leprosy of thy personal failings may spread itself exceedingly far and bring forth bitter fruit. I could willingly be taken out of the way, be banished into some howling wilderness, rot in the grave, or beg my bread, rather than injure God's cause, or open wicked men's mouths. From whence came it to pass that I lost myself? 'Tis true, the slackness of the people's coming in, occasioned me to change my purpose. Possibly there might have been some sin in my people to provoke the Lord thus to deal with his poor creature: they expected too much from the instrument, and eyed God too little; they have been unthankful for, and unfruitful under my enlargement; or were unprepared by coming immediately from civil employments to divine ordinances. These and such like things some of them have bewailed; but, O my soul, the cause is in thee more than in any one else; I am the Jonah that troubled the ship. What is it that God corrects in thee? Lay thy hand upon thy heart and search out the cause. How often hast thou enjoyed the wonderful presence of God; but how little hast thou prized it! How often hast thou pleased thyself with applauding thoughts, as having done well and deserved praise! Has it not pleased thee more to have thy talents commended than the truth of God received? O base prostitution of divine favours, to gratify the vain expectations of ambition! How much hast thou been at thy book and how little on thy knees! Luther says: "Prayer, meditation, and temptation make a preacher." How little hast thou been acting faith on Jesus Christ for assistance, using means as if there were no God to help! Thou hast acted as if the studying of precious truths, and the bare committing of them to memory were enough to render thee fit for public services; whereas, that seldom reaches the heart which does not come from it, and has not been wrought into it. How seldom after preaching dost thou get alone, water the seed of the word with tears, and pursue the Lord with importunity for success! O my God, all these are but too true, and thou art very just! I may rather wonder that I have been so often helped, than repine that I have now been left. I have a thousand times less frequently than I deserve! The glory of God is dear to him and he will not give his glory to another. If too much be attributed to the instrument, no wonder that he stain the glory of man and lay his honour in the dust, that God may be all in all.

XXV.

Prepare thyself, my soul, for the enjoyment of the important ordinance of the Lord's supper which thou hopest to enjoy the following day. Trim up thy lamp and go to God for new supplies of grace. Look to thy habitual and actual preparation. Get anointed from above with fresh and refreshing oil. Go and buy, or rather beg additional divine influences. Old grace will not serve thee for new duties. Whet the sword anew to slay thy lusts; furbish thy shield of faith to repel Satan's fiery darts; sharpen the anchor of hope to cast behind the veil; kindle the fire of love that it may grow more fervent, and glow in flames of ardent affection to God and all the saints. Read the story of thy dear Redeemer's life and death, that thou mayest be furnished with abundant matter for remembrance of his death and passion. Look at the wormwood and the gall to cause thy heart to bleed in genuine repentance for thy disobedience. Examine thyself thoroughly and impartially, and trifle not with God in a matter of such importance. Search thy heart and life, review thy sins and graces, look to thy principles, and motives in these approaches to God. Thou art to renew thy covenant with the Lord; be not found a covenant breaker. Thou art to draw nigh to God in a special manner, wash thy hands in innocency before God's altar be approached by thee. Above all, awake my faith towards a crucified Saviour. Consider, O my soul, who he is that suffered, and for whom he endured so many evils: it was the innocent for the guilty; the just for the unjust; the Mighty God for weak man. He became sin for us, that we might be made the righteousness of God in him; the Son of God assumed the nature of man to pay the price of our redemption, and be a propitiation for our sins. O my soul, bring all thy sins and lay them on this scape-goat; bring all thy wounds to this physician; bring all thy doubts to this counsellor. Come, and derive sap from this blessed vine, light from this glorious sun, and protection from this rock. What dost thou want or desire, that is not to be had in abundance here? The streams are sweet, but what is the spring? The means are good, but what is the end? In this and all ordinances strive to get near Christ and have communion with him.

XXVI.

Surely the benefit of an ordinance is not ended when the outward dispensation is concluded; for sometimes the recollection is more profitable than the administration. Consider, O my soul, how thy heart was affected in reading the blessed institution! A sweet overpowering virtue descended from above:

my beloved spoke good and heart-melting words to me. I thought the shadow of Christ was delightful. The elements were desirable not for themselves, but the marrow and mystery represented by them. Did Christ give his flesh for the life of the world, and dost thou not find, O my soul, vivifying virtue therein? Did Christ shed his blood for justification, and canst thou doubt of the remission of thy sins? Hast thou experienced the great design of the ordinance in thy heart? Didst thou find it the means of effectual conveyance of rich communications, and comfortable evidence of thy regeneration affording thee assurance of salvation? Didst thou find it as bread to nourish and wine to refresh thy soul? Though I had not such a transporting vision of a resplendent Mediator as the three privileged ones on the mount; yet my soul did enjoy some discoveries of a transfigured Saviour in the sacramental elements. O that they may abide on my heart for many days and weeks! O my soul, be not faithless but believing; send all thy unbelieving doubts to this Captain of thy salvation. Be ashamed, O thou hard, impenitent heart, and blush to think that thy dear Saviour should suffer thus for thy sins, and yet thou be so little broken and affected therewith. Cast thy eye upon the bleeding Jesus, and see what relenting sorrows it produces. Look on him whom thou hast pierced, and weep bitterly as for an only child. If thou shouldst ever begin to faint in thy spiritual race or warfare, a crumb of this delicious bread of life may revive thee and make thee run with alacrity. If thou shouldest fall into a spiritual lethargy, one drop of this *aqua vitæ*, this soul-cheering and cleansing cordial, may bring thee to life again and make thee as the chariots of Amminadib.

XXVII.

Yesterday I went prepared to preach a lecture at my own place, and had provided an assistant, who came and brought with him another dear friend of mine; so they were both employed and my pains spared. I cannot but take notice of this as a special providence, considering the circumstances attending the business. I had a subject which I much desired to preach at that lecture: Psal. cxii. 7, "He shall not be afraid of evil tidings." My mind had run very much on this text, and I had taken extraordinary pains with it; had read the sermon twice over, which I seldom have the mind or the leisure to do. I had pleased myself with the thought how likely it was to be acceptable and profitable to the auditory, which was composed of most Christians in the neighbourhood. After all this, I was disappointed in the delivery, and upon the review, am persuaned it

was a mercy to me. O my soul, hadst thou a right end in view in making choice of the subject? Was it not to display thy own spirit rather than the truth of God? Lay thy hand upon thy heart and make a strict enquiry. Didst thou not study to make it fine with history, and rhetorical flourishes? Consider, souls are precious and the work is weighty, requiring thy best and utmost provision for every sermon. Seek not credit from men, but study to deliver the wholesome truths of God, in homely, plain, though well becoming language. Seek not to set off the glorious gospel with any device of thy own. How often hast thou found by sad experience that when thou hast most sought thyself thou hast most lost thyself? Thou art bound to search out for acceptable words, and avoid a barbarous phraseology; yet take heed thou dost not please Satan by gratifying thy own and others' luxuriant fancies, in the things of God. Learn of Paul to preach not with enticing words, but in demonstration of the Spirit. Get thy proud thoughts humbled before thou goest to preach, and tremble to think of preaching thyself when thou shouldst preach Christ; pray more over thy heart and labours. Particularly examine this discourse, and mourn over what might have been offensive to others or dangerous to thyself.

XXVIII.

After twenty-two years and upwards, wherein I have been studying, preaching, praying, and waiting on God, since I first began to write my soul-soliloquies, I am now pressed in spirit again to return to my own soul and enquire, what progress I have made in sanctification, communion with God, and preparation for heaven? Come then, O my soul, how are things with thee? Deal faithfully with God and thyself; do not dissemble; dodge not about spiritual matters, for the heart-searching God knows how things are; self-flattery would be thy soul's ruin. True it is my soul hath contracted a heavy burden of guilt during this time. I have had many temptations, corruptions, fears, doubts, and discouragements, which have put my soul on perplexing exercises. But yet, for all that, to the praise of the glory of God's grace, I hope I can say, I have made some progress in the ways of God. I will not conceal but reckon up what testimonies I can find thereof, partly to raise my spirits in praise to God, and partly to evidence my sincerity. I hope I do not lie therein but say the truth in Christ, my conscience bearing me witness in the Holy Ghost. 1. My soul hath been drawn out more frequently to renew my covenant with the Lord my God than formerly, and that too in a more solemn manner, writing it down and subscribing it as in the presence of God. Such days have

been days of heart-breaking and heart-quickening; blessed be my God. 2. God hath helped me more constantly to maintain the duty of secret prayer, and he doth more melt my heart by his blessed Spirit. There are but few days, when I am at home, but God and my soul meet in secret. 3. The Lord helps me to spend my time better than formerly. Through grace I cannot say that I am idle any one day, but can give some tolerable account of the expenditure of time for earth or heaven, in my general or particular calling. 4. As my employment has been increased, so I feel a renewing of strength in my heart. In my studies I have fresh and more profitable matter suggested to my thoughts; so that, comparing my notes now and formerly, I find that the Lord doth assist me. 5. I find my heart more zealously carried out for the good of souls, both in preaching and praying, in public, private, and secret; I could lay myself under the feet of sinners to do them good. The yearnings of my bowels for sinners my God knoweth. 6. My heart is more endeared to saints as saints, without a factious respect to parties, so that I can take delight in the poorest, and most cross-natured and conceited child of God, wherein I can see any thing of Christ and goodness. 7. I find more power in regulating my passions, though I feel them oft working; yet upon pleading with God in prayer they are calmed; through grace I can say, anger rests not in my bosom. 8. I find, by the grace of God, I can put up with injuries and affronts better than formerly, and not study revenge; yea, my heart is more enabled not only to forgive, but to pray to God for the repentance and forgiveness of those who have done me the greatest wrongs; they cost me many a tear. 9. My heart is grieved if God be dishonoured, his Spirit offended, and his gospel reproached by the sins of the wicked, or professors, or myself; and my heart is carried out many times in renewing my repentance on more pure and evangelical principles. 10. If I know I have offended any person, especially believers, it is a burden to my spirit, and I cannot be satisfied till I have humbled myself before them, with self-abasing testimonies of sincere grief, and solicited forgiveness from them. 11. When I have seen professors at a distance from each other it hath been the grief of my soul, and I have often interposed to make up breaches. Sometimes God hath granted me the desired success, and when it hath been otherwise God hath continued my pity and prayers for them. 12. The great concerns of the church and nation have been more upon my heart than formerly. O what pleadings hath God helped me to urge for kings, nobles, ministers, and the interests of Christ. 13. I can rejoice more

in the gifts, graces, and success of God's servants that are more useful than I am; and can say, through grace, that if God will make use of others more than of me, I am not only satisfied but thankful. 14. God hath helped my soul to obtain the victory over the corruptions of my heart. Some lusts, that God knows have cost me many groans, tears, and conflicts, he hath either mortified or removed the occasions from me, so that sin hath not broken out so much as formerly. 15. My heart hath been more helped to undervalue the world and the things thereof, and to account its profits, pleasures, and honours poor and pitiable things of vanity; so that I can say, through grace, the world dwindles and shrinks in comparison with divine things, and is more under my feet than it hath been. 16. My soul is more mercifully assisted in the heavenly life of faith to commit all my concerns to the Lord, and to trust him for provision. Though my occasions of expence have increased, especially in training up my two sons, hitherto God hath given supplies, though I could not tell whence they would proceed. 17. My affections are sometimes more weaned from, yet endeared to, my relations by being more spiritualized; so that I can now say, through grace, I love God in them, and them for God's sake, and enjoy more of God in conversing with them. 18. My soul, I hope, enjoys more fellowship with God, since my heart more closely adheres to him in duties and worship than formerly, and I find larger seasonable supplies, and more meltings of heart in public, private and secret, God giving me more frequent visits, and dealing more familiarly with my soul: blessed be his name. 19. My heart is more taken up with God's mercies, and more exalted in his praises, so that my soul is more melted and expanded in the duties of thanksgiving, both in ordinary duties and on special occasions. Methinks, it is a little emblem of heaven to be employed in God's praises. 20. The Lord hath graciously sealed my soul unto the day of redemption, by giving me assurance of his love in Christ, and in vouchsafing to seal the remission of my sins, so that sometimes I call God my Father, rejoice in him as my portion, and delight my soul in the Lord, and in believing anticipations of the beatific vision.

To these things I hope my heart echoes; and though I dare not boast that I love Christ more than others, yet I can, through grace, appeal to my God that my soul doth love him in sincerity. I know not how soon my God may possibly leave me to temptation, darkness, deadness, or the commission of some scandalous and conscience-wasting sin; for when I am highest in my own conceit, I am nearest a fall. I have found by experience that God loves to shake my carnal confidence, yet for

this I will not deny nor underrate the grace of God, nor obstruct his praises; for by the grace of God I am what I am. Though I am vile yet my dear Lord hath been an indulgent God to me, and hath made good his covenant and promises to my soul; and if the Lord should henceforth leave me to myself, and at last cast me into hell, I will justify him. O my soul, who, what art thou, that ever free grace should display itself before thee! What hast thou but what thou hast received? Grace was at the foundation, grace has been in the progress, and grace will be celebrated when the top-stone is brought forth. All this goodness that God hath manifested, O my soul, makes thy sins the more aggravated. Thou art still the greatest of sinners and the least of saints. Give God all the glory, and take thou all the shame to thyself. As God hath dealt bountifully with thee, be more dutiful to him; the more he hath given to thee, the more let thy expenditure be for him, and be prepared for his laying on thee a heavier hand than ever.

EPISTLE

TO THE READER OF

"ADVICE TO AN ONLY CHILD."

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Christian Reader,

This precious pearl of seasonable advice* providentially put first into my hand, and now into thine, is of great worth, and the rate thereof is enhanced not only by the worthiness of the Author, but by the importance of the subject matter, the manner of handling it, and its great end and design. The Author was a master in Israel, a star of the first magnitude, first placed in

* This Address was prefixed to a posthumous publication, entitled, "Advice to an only Child," composed by the Rev. James Creswick, a Nonconformist minister ejected from Freshwater, in Hampshire. Mr. C. was a native of Sheffield and, we are told, a man of great abilities, well skilled in the learned languages, and an accurate preacher. He was distinguished for his piety and exemplary patience under a tormenting affliction. He used frequently to say: "Lord, I am thine, and thou canst do me no wrong; I would rather have health of soul in a body full of pain, than health and ease of body in a distempered soul." He died Feb. 1692, aged 75, at *Beal*, in Yorkshire. The Treatise above mentioned was published by Mr. Heywood.—*Noncon. Mem. vol. ii. p.* 266.

a high elevation, to influence candidates for the ministry and the academical sphere, thence translated by the ministerial function into an ecclesiastical station, where he was a burning and a shining light, till eclipsed with the rest of his ejected brethren, but moved very regularly and profitably in a narrower and obscurer orbit, till at last he disappeared to us, but shines bright in the firmament of glory. A description of his exquisitely painful disorder, (gravel) together with his invincible patience and magnanimity, would make a volume; his personal excellencies as a scholar, as a minister, as a Christian, were beyond the vulgar rate; and it is a pity the world is not blessed with more of his learned labours, polished with his own hand, and squared by this master builder for adorning the house of God. But his modesty concealed something of what our zeal for public good hath here presented to the reader, in its naked dress, as written by his own hand.

As for the matter, it is the doctrine according to godliness, the weighty things of law and gospel—covenanting with God, the life of faith, of holiness as in God's presence, actings of love to God and Christ, universal obedience, circumspect walking, dying daily, repentance, delighting in God and his ways, thankfulness, prayer, &c. You may find in this treatise an excellent Encyclopædia or universal scheme of practical divinity: couched in a few words, in a plain method laid before the eyes of the intelligent reader.

The manner of handling this useful tractate is pleasant and alluring, and adds a peculiar accent and emphasis to it; such a smooth style, such fit and proper similitudes, and delightful allusions, that it will chain the reader's eye to proceed in reading, and may perhaps charm his affections to embrace the contents thereof: "It is as apples of gold in pictures of silver," Prov. xxv. 11; that is, golden apples appearing through network of silver, or pourtrayed on silver tables, very delightful and grateful to the eye; so may these words fitly spoken be to youth: and, "as an earring of gold and an ornament of fine gold," so may this wise reprover be upon an obedient ear: happy is the teacher who mixeth what is pleasant and useful.

The design, I am sure, is high and noble, to plant grace in young persons, and to produce and feed a nursery of plants of renown, to stock the church and world with a springing-up generation, in the room of old trees transplanted into a better soil; that may fill up vacancies and do God service in after times: amongst the rest of Solomon's sumptuous preparations of costly ornaments for his pleasures, that which he mentions, was not the least: "I made me pools of water, to water where-

with the wood that bringeth forth trees," Eccles. ii. 6; this was an artificial means of nourishing fruit trees, in want of natural showers of rain from the clouds, which sometimes was rare and scant: and it is worth observing, that the word rendered *pools*, is the same as *blessings*, in Hebrew, either because in hot countries they were esteemed great blessings, or because they were filled with rain which is a valuable blessing of God. Such pools, as this small treatise, are signal blessings in themselves; and when they are also seconded with the heavenly dew of divine benediction, what a wood or forest of fruit-bearing trees may we see flourishing within the limits of God's church? It is true, men may do something, yet not all. The best human cultivation bends the trees but to an outward compliance; divine grace alone plants them in Christ, and plants grace in their hearts. The pupil Joash was hopeful whilst his reverend tutor Jehoiada instructed him, 2 Kings xii. 2; but after his death discovered the rottenness of his hypocritical heart. God will demonstrate a vast difference between the efficient cause and the subordinate means; therefore some miscarry under religious education, but some prove well, to encourage parents and masters in their duty: divine benediction with paternal instruction hath done great things. Let Abraham command his children, God undertakes "they shall keep the way of the Lord," Gen. xviii. 19—"The rain also filleth the pools," Psal. lxxxiv. 6. or, *benedictionibus amicietur doctor*;* the Eternal Majesty will make their pools of water great blessings to men.

Did parents conscientiously instruct their children, they would in God's time discern the blessed effects thereof. Mr. Baxter thinks, religious education would be so blessed by God for conversion, that a public ministry would be chiefly useful for edification. It is true, grace comes not by succession, yet often in succession; the covenant is with the godly and their seed; and surely it is not an insignificant cypher: as God delights to run along the line of the gospel covenant, so he usually blesseth his own institutions with gospel grace: let parents do their duty, and leave their issue to God: our children have souls as well as bodies, both must be cared for, nature enjoins nurture, grace regulates it, God alone makes it efficacious. Corrupt nature leaves children not a whit better than a wild ass's colt, Job xi. 12; a habit of sinning makes them like a wild ass, used to the wilderness, that snuffeth up the wind at her pleasure, in her occasion who can turn her away? Jer. ii. 24. Education must be as a guide and bridle, to teach and tame those frolicsome youths: but alas! most parents cast the reins on children's

* The instructor shall be clothed with blessings.

necks, and leave them to their licentious ways, till at last they get the bits between their teeth, and kick off the rider, and ramble in forbidden paths, till they are impounded in a prison here, and in the dungeon of hell hereafter. Solomon saith, "The rod and reproof give wisdom, but a child left to himself, bringeth his mother to shame," Prov. xxix. 15. Is not crying here better than wailing in eternal torments? Even the heathen Seneca could say, *Disciplina severa firmat ingenia, et apta reddit magnis conatibus;** is it not a pity such ingenuous youths should be lost for want of instruction and correction? Let parents and governors tremble, lest the blood of relations should lie at their door, and both be tormented for wilful neglects: even heathens had great care of children's education, it was actionable in the law courts among the Romans to neglect this; yea, if the son was profligate, the father was sued, since it was supposed the son's miscarriage was through the father's default: but that might be a mistake. Yet God that sees all things, and whose judgment is always according to truth, will commence a suit against, and condemn the careless parent. Lord, when will parents have as much care of their children's souls as bodies? Yea, express as much tenderness to a child as to a brute! You labour hard to provide for them food and raiment, to put them into callings, that they may live like men in the world; and are their souls of no worth? Is there not another world worth thinking of, and looking after? Have you not many helps, the bible, catechisms, good books, and ministers to move, admonish, and instruct you in training up your children? Do you not engage to do this for them at their baptism? Could you be content to see a mastiff dog drag away your child to devour him, and not stir a foot, or speak a word to rescue him? O miserable parents! O cruel tigers! Worse than sea-monsters, "that draw out the breasts, that give suck to their young ones," Lam. iv. 3; they have not a word to speak, not a breath to breathe in prayer, not a hand to reach out to them, to pluck them from this Cerberus, this dog of hell! Oh, where is grace, yea, where is nature? The Lord pity those merciless parents: for shame learn your duty, and do it, and take this book for a help.

And you that are children, if parents neglected their duty, do not you neglect God and your souls: they look no further than your preferment in the world; but do you look after an everlasting happiness in the other world: some commended Patricius, Augustine's father, for educating his son a scholar, who became so famous a father in the church; "Alas!" said he,

* Severe discipline strengthens genius, and prepares it for great undertakings.

"my father thought only to make me a rhetorician, not a Christian, for he was a heathen." But whatever your parents trained you up for, law, or physic, or a trade, study christianity: if your parents were carnal, lament it, exercise faith in Christ, that guilt may be taken off from your father's house, and double your diligence for your own soul, and for your children. If your parents were pious, devoted you to God, set you a good example, instructed and prayed for you; O make much of the covenant of parents, plead it, embrace it, and see that your heart and life be squared by it, else your privileges will be a testimony against you another day. Ambrose, bishop of Milan, tells us, that in the primitive times, a stole, or white garment was put upon the party baptized; and the minister said, "take this white and immaculate vestment, and see that thou bring it forth without spot at the judgment seat of Christ:" withal he tells of one Elpidophorus being baptized, and afterwards proving a profane wretch; the minister produced this garment, saying, "this linen, which is witness of thy apostacy, shall accuse thee at Christ's coming." You young people, esteem it a great privilege, that you were introduced into the visible church by baptism, and indeed it stands in good stead in your infant state, by virtue of your parents' covenant; but being grown up, you stand upon your own legs, and must personally renew your baptismal covenant, or expect no benefit by it. Baptism will not save you, without the answer of a good conscience; the laver of regeneration will not avail to adult persons, without the renewing of the Holy Ghost: you must be born again of water, and of the Spirit, or you cannot enter into the kingdom of God: to which Austin subscribes, saying, *Nihil profuit Simoni Mago visibilis baptismus cui sanctificatio invisibilis desit;** you know Simon Magus was in the gall of bitterness, and bond of iniquity, though he was baptized: you are however to bless God for external privileges and religious education, they are signal mercies, not common to all. Bucholtzer thanks God that he was brought up under Melancthon; Mr. Whately, under Mr. Dod; yea, a Plato, that he was pupil to Socrates. But rest not here, be not satisfied unless the unfeigned faith dwell in you also, which was in your pious ancestors: mind their godly examples, and do not counteract them. A king of Poland was wont to carry the picture of his renowned father on a plate of gold about his neck, when he went on any notable expedition; kissing it, he said, "God grant that I may do nothing remissly, or unworthy of so good a father:" so be you followers of them, who through

* Visible baptism availed nothing to Simon Magus, in whom invisible sanctification was wanting.

faith and patience, do now inherit the promises; only be not content to be apish imitators of their outward acts, but see that you have the same spirit of faith, and love, and fear of God, the same repentance, and new obedience; think you hear your dying parents charging you, (as Mr. Bolton did his children) that none of you presume to meet them at the great day, without a wedding-garment. To this end, attend daily on a powerful ministry, examine your consciences by the word of God, pray much in secret, be humble and docile, disdain not to learn catechisms, watch against occasions of sin, and improve christian society; keep a conscience void of offence towards God and man; read, meditate on, and labour to understand and practise, scripture truths and rules; study to do all the good you can, and be useful in your generation.

But I shall detain you no longer in the porch, I humbly desire you to read and study the following treatise, which though short, is yet pithy, accurate, and sententious, and will, like a clue, lead thee through the labyrinths and meanders of the world; omit the reading of it, and thou art a loser; read it slightly, and thou gainest no good; act contrary to it at thy peril, these sheets will rise up in judgment against thee another day. My earnest prayer, following this and other soul-helps, is, that the God of all grace would stamp his blessed image on the souls of the rising generation, awaken their consciences, enlighten their minds, renew their natures, subdue their wills, raise their affections to heavenly objects, in order that they may fill up our stations when our heads are laid in the silent dust, and may see better days, and have better hearts, to improve all occurrences to better purpose, than we that are now going off the stage; and thus, good reader, I take leave, wishing thee much content and advantage in reviewing these spiritual flowers, gathered out of the scripture garden: as being

Thy soul's friend, and servant in Christ,

O. HEYWOOD.

LETTERS

To Mr. Eliezer Heywood—To the Rev. Thos. Jollie—To Ralph Thoresby, Esq.

The circle of Mr. Heywood's friends and acquaintance was unusually large, and his epistolary correspondence very extensive. Had a selection of his letters been made soon after his decease, probably it would have been interesting and acceptable; but at this distance of time such an object cannot be secured, however desirable. The few that have been preserved from the ravages of time, are now presented to the Public. The first six letters in the following series, were copied from the originals by the Writer of Mr. Heywood's Life. For the remainder, addressed to Ralph Thoresby, Esq. the able and faithful historian of Leeds, the Public are indebted to W. Upcott, Esq. of the London Institution, and grateful acknowledgments are due for his liberality and kindness in permitting copies to be taken from the originals in his possession. The Editor of Mr. Heywood's Works, is also, in this place, desirous of acknowledging his numerous obligations to his worthy and highly esteemed Friend, the Rev. Isaac Mann, A. M. minister of the Baptist chapel, Maze Pond, London, not only for procuring copies of the last mentioned letters, but also for his valuable assistance, afforded *con amore* throughout the progress of this publication.

LETTER I.

TO MR. ELIEZER HEYWOOD.

My Dear Son,

It is now towards a fortnight, since I wrote to you and desired an answer, whether you could supply for me when I go into Lancashire, May 21st. I should be glad to have your company thither about the 15th, or 16th of May, and so come back that week to my house, because you can ride better

than I. I desired you would send my manuscript to Mr. Taylor with all speed you can. I had a letter from him, telling me if it come not shortly it will be too late, they will be gone into the country. I had another letter from Mr. Parkhurst, who is willing to print it,* only would see it first. I have a lovely company of hopeful young men, with whom I was yesterday, and preached to them. You are upon our hearts for personal concerns and ministerial. Your age calls for settlement in the world; I am full of cares for you. Our supper day is Lord's day sevennight, the fast is the Wednesday after. I shall be glad of your company and assistance any time. You are both dear to me. My love and service to Mr. and Madam Taylor,

Your endeared father,

OL. HEYWOOD.

April 25th, 1693. The very day of my marriage to your mother, A.D. 1655, 38 years ago, called St. Mark's day.

LETTER II.

TO THE SAME.

My Dear Child, *March 16th*, 1697.

I received your letter this day sevennight and am glad mine is acceptable to you, I pray it may be profitable; you are much upon my heart. Yesterday, (which was the day of my baptism sixty-seven years ago,) I spent the forenoon in secret and solemn addresses to my dear Lord, and had sweet enlargement and great encouragement concerning my own soul, sons, and the church; and as I have great comfort in you, so you may conclude I shall do any thing in the compass of my power for you. I think I shall leave you (after mine and my wife's death,) as much as your brother, through the blessing of God; though your two grandfathers entailed all upon my eldest son at my first marriage. When I have accomplished this bargain,† I shall cancel what in Little Lever your brother made to you. I need not remove to greater places for worldly incomes, I have as much as I desire, more than I expected, and contrary to what I have deserved; let mine and others learn to trust God in the way of duty, by my example. God hath given me an agreeable wife, a pleasant habitation, a competent income, an affectionate people, health of body, and a contented mind. O

* Probably his work entitled, *The Best Entail.*

† Purchasing a small estate in Holdsworth.

who am I that he hath brought me hitherto! J. P. is my faithful, prudent friend, and compensates the loss of his father, once kind, now a stranger, still a hearer and free contributer. I have learned Micah vii. 5. My humble service to Mr. and Madam Taylor, whom I include in my poor devotions, and bless God for their exceeding usefulness and tenderness towards you. Do not doubt their future care of you, which will be recompensed into their own bosoms and their lovely daughter's, whom I hope God will bless and well dispose of—she remembers our tantivy to Ferry Bridge. I long to come to Walling Wells once again while I live, but know not when, or how that can be. Methinks I earnestly desire your return, and long to see you. I am sorry Mr. Westby gives up house. Mr. Isaac Bates was here last week, and tells me sad stories which afflict me. He hopes you will do something for him; if you can get him a place I think you will not be discredited by him. Give my service to Mr. White; I hope the executors of Lord Wharton will make something of it in time. My poor neighbours Stocks are not fully paid for building Halifax chapel; they that should be active are slack and selfish. Hitherto they have lived upon gift-preaching: I was there the other Lord's day, but resolve to keep at home. I think by this, my little kinsman is gone to Mr. Frankland's. I have prefixed an epistle to a piece of Mr. Frankland's against Socinians; Francis Bentley will get it printed. I am to preach a funeral sermon for little John Simpson to-morrow at Warley; every day produceth new work. Young Josiah Stansfield is gone up again to London, and is in danger of losing £500. by two merchants gone off, pray inquire for him.* Money is scant, trading bad, people are breaking weekly, assessments heavy, poverty comes like an armed man; it is a wonder the country is quiet. God rules the raging sea and the tumult of the people. Buy but six oranges and six lemons since they are so dear, and send by Holmes at the *White Horse* in Cripplegate, who comes next week, or Kershaw at the *Bell* in Wood Street. Be sure you mention not me, but direct what you send only to the shop of Jonathan Priestley, Jun. in Halifax. I hope Miss Archer, (to whom give my service) will not forget poor Mercy and her children; I have one to pay for at our school. I am glad you are so well employed, I leave my charges on you. Give my service to Mr. Burgess, and to Mr. Vincent when you see him. We are working for a Master that gives good vales, and will pay well at last. I tire you, pardon the exorescences of my love. This is all from

Your endeared father, OL. HEYWOOD.

* Mr. Eliezer Heywood was in London at this time with Mr. Taylor's family.

LETTER III.

TO THE SAME, ON THE BIRTH OF HIS FIRST SON, OLIVER.

My Dear Child, *March 14th*, 1701.

I received yours dated March 8th, upon Tuesday, March 11th, and was greatly rejoiced with the contents of it, that God hath so graciously answered prayer, and brought your wife through her straits so mercifully, and brought a living, perfect child into the world, a third O. H.; the first was dead before I was born, but a gracious and now glorified saint. Your son was born about the time of the year I came into the world, for I was baptized March 15th, 1629, and guess my birth was about a week before. I was helped on Wednesday forenoon to pay vows, dedicate you and yours to God, and hope he may bear up God's name as well as mine in the world and church. God Almighty write a law of thankfulness on all our hearts! My sweet daughter knows something of the pangs of natural birth, may she know the sharp throes of one spiritual, then she is safe for eternity! My wife and I sympathize in griefs and joys, *quasi pectora copulata.* I bless God we are in tolerable health, shortwindedness in walking is all my malady, I can study as long and preach as loud as formerly. The public national fast will be on Friday, April 4th. My wife is too careful of me, and would have me to get some assistance that day. I know none I can procure except you be at liberty that day; since you are *Individuum vagum*, if not engaged and can leave your wife, your help will be very acceptable. Pray send me word in time whether you can come. This is a snowy morning and I confess summer is not come; use your liberty, I hope I can make shift, God assisting. I am glad you are sensible of an untoward heart; it is my disease and the chief spiritual malady I am pestered with. I am writing a treatise on Christ's Intercession, that is our cure, let us learn to trust in him. My dear love to your father and mother Rotheram; I am deeply obliged to them for their tender care of mine and their own. I am sorry Mr. White is so indisposed and his lady; we think of them. Pray if you see old Mr. White, give my service to him, and know the result of my letter to him which he sent to London. Thank Madam Taylor for chocolate. I doubt not but you are dissettled and uneasy till you get to your own house; so am I till I get home to the rest above. God enable us to serve our generation according to his will! I received a letter from your brother with yours on Tuesday night which

heightened my joy, that I have two sons hopeful Christians and laborious ministers; it is more to me than if you were princes, my heart is comforted in you whilst

I remain,

Your loving father,

OL. HEYWOOD.

LETTER IV.

TO THE SAME, ON THE DEATH OF HIS SON, OLIVER.

My dear Child, *June* 13*th*, 1701.

I received your letter from Pontefract, dated May 26th, and was glad of your safe arrival at your own house. It is a mercy you have a centre after your various circumferences; but your best centre is above, you must pitch your anchor within the vail, Heb. vi. 19. When we think to settle ourselves we are nearest dissettlement in this world. God hath already shaken out a lovely branch of your new created family, the first breach in mine for the last forty years. This is to train you up under the cross, a wholesome lesson to keep you humble, watchful, weaned from temporal things, and engage you more to spiritual. My friends and relations praying with me and for me, is the greatest kindness they can do me. I am in tolerable circumstances; my asthmatic fits afflict me, and constant shortness of breathing, but I am studying sound, preaching sound, though not walking nor riding sound. My last and best journey will be to the up-hill city, where I long to be, but am content to tarry God's time and do his work. O for success! My wife is in tolerable plight, blessed be God! and our neighbours, in whom I have much content. Old Mr. Johnson was here yesterday, and wants some help to pay debts. What cause have I to admire divine providence to me and mine, and I hope, divine grace! I expect your brother daily to take a journey into Lancashire. Have you spoken to your brother, and appointed a time for an exercise here? Mr. Waterhouse was with us at the Lord's supper last Lord's day, and preached in the afternoon, but his voice is below us; he left me a MS. concerning justification. Enoch Halstead is at last come from Edinburgh, I doubt not much better. Mr. Noble thinks of printing his other piece upon the Apocalypse; but *nullus sum in propheticis, et puer in dogmaticis, et nolens in*

*polemicis, sed volens in practicis; senectute jam gravidus.** My dear child, love God above all earthly enjoyments and relations. Give up yourself to God, maintain frequent communion with him, struggle hard with a bad heart, own grace in all, aim at perfection, and God grant we may meet in glory at last. My dear love with my wife's to you and our dear daughter.

Your endeared father,

OL. HEYWOOD.

LETTER V.

TO THE REVEREND THOS. JOLLIE.†

Reverend and dear Brother, *Oct.* 21*st.* 1698.

My two sons came to me the other week, and brought me your book on the Surry Demoniac from your son, as a token from yourself, for which I do here give you my hearty thanks, and likewise for your kind letters sent to me, which further endear my heart to you in friendship, which first commenced at Cambridge, where you were pleased to take notice of, and take into your society, such a simple, raw lad as O. H. I oft reflect, with comfort and gratitude, on the sweet opportunities we had in your garret-chamber, and the heart-meltings under Mr. Hammond's ministry, with whom I conversed, a fortnight before he died at Hackney, whom we shall never see more in this world; and truly I despair of ever seeing you on earth, but hope erelong to meet you in heaven, in the general assembly above. I have not been a little both pleased and profited in writing a small treatise upon 2 Thess. ii. 1, which I have delivered to my son for the press, and if it come out will send you a copy. Next to meeting our dear Lord, this cheers me, that we shall meet with our godly friends with better hearts, in a better place and posture. In the meantime, there is a communion of saints, if not local yet real: we meet at the throne of grace, conversing with our God, and thereby sending to each other by the road of heaven; yet these paper messages are not insignificant. Your book (one would think) gives Z. T. his death-blow, at least shuts his mouth. Your answers and arguments are so cogent and pungent, your proofs and depositions

* I am no adept in prophecies, a child in doctrinal discussions, and indisposed to controversy, but at home in things of a practical nature; being now burdened with old age.

† See another letter to Mr. Jollie, vol. iv. page 567.

so obvious and pertinent, except he find something further to say from Mr. Carrington ..... I could have wished that something had been forborne in his practice and your writing; but God will turn all to the best, when the devil and his agents have done their worst. I have received a long letter from Mr. Stretton, and am glad that Mr. Forbes of Gloucester and yourself have accepted a call to carry on the correspondence. I have written a large account of 19 congregations in our parts, but whether we can maintain quarterly correspondence in our large county, or send up delegates to London, I yet know not; I think letters may do. It is fit we do any thing we can, to propagate the gospel and reformation, yea, and union, though, alas, we can do little, to cool or qualify the heats in the great metropolis which bode ill to the land: of old, British contests brought on Saxon conquests. Alas, that good men should misconstrue and mistake each other! *Tantæne animis cœlestibus iræ!** Will there be anger or shame at ourselves for it in heaven? Methinks Gen. xiii. 7, 8, should shame or silence us. But you and I have well agreed, and hope shall agree to the end and in the end. You are the only brother in this world of the old stock, left to

Your worthless brother,

Groaning for an exit,

OL. HEYWOOD.

LETTER VI.

TO THE SAME.

Reverend and dear Brother, *Dec.* 21, 1700.

I received yours dated Nov. 6, and immediately transcribed and sent it to Mr. Whitaker and Mr. Dawson, according to your order, got their hands, and this week received it from your and my dear son in the gospel at Attercliffe, with a very affectionate letter to me whom he owns as his spiritual father. Blessed be God for the grace of God in him, and his singular usefulness in the church. We had sweet converse together in his last return from you, when he spent a Lord's day with us. † They all approve of the expedient for the present. I spoke to Mr. Priestley this week at my house, desired his hand, and showed him your letter; but he excused himself being a junior, and said it was fitter for senior ministers. I can-

* Can such resentment occupy celestial minds? † See Page 315.

not but follow it with my wishes and prayers, that at last the Lord would compose the spirits of my ancient friends in Craven. We have another breach made in our parts, by Mr. Matthew Smith's preaching and printing a book against the imputation of Christ's righteousness for justification; that *articulus stantis aut cadentis ecclesiæ*, as Luther calls it. I am much concerned about it, because it diverts people from the main practical things to endless disputes, besides the perniciousness of his doctrine. I have charity for him, though some have not, and others admire him. I bless the Lord we have peace amongst our people. I have a gracious companion, hopeful sons, now both married and comfortably settled, my body much at ease, no violent pain, but coughing and short-windedness, yet capable of preaching in my own chapel, but stir little abroad. I often reflect on the sweet days we have had together in God's immediate presence. It grieves me to hear of your painful disease, and desire to be a sympathizer with you, and a pleader with God for you, though I doubt not but you receive that divine consolation which surmounts and drowns your bodily pains. Dear brother, when you are near the throne remember me, who have no outward affliction compared to a bad heart and too, too much distance from that God who is my life, and with whom I long to be, and would be making haste, having arrived at the age of man.

Your ancient endeared brother in the Lord,

OL. HEYWOOD.

LETTER VII.

TO RALPH THORESBY, ESQ.

Honoured and dear Sir, *Nov.* 26, 1694.

Yours of Nov. 13. I received last Tuesday, and have sent yours inclosed in a letter to Mr. Newcome with whom I have some intercourse, and have re-enforced your motions to the best advantage I could, though I am heartily sorry for what my son John told me last Thursday night, that my Lady Wilbraham, where good Mr. Illingworth was last, had told him she must take another Nonconformist minister and his wife into her house, and had no occasion for two chaplains, and desired Mr. Illingworth to provide for himself, which some think he laid so to heart that it shortened his days. I do question into whose hands his books and papers are fallen, but if they can be

retrieved, you shall have them. I hear nothing yet of my brother's life, yet had a letter on Saturday from my younger son at London. I ordered him to go to Dr. Sampson about it, from whom I have the contents of a curious MS. in 26 chapters, containing the history of Nonconformity or Puritanism from the days of Henry VIII. to this day. If you have not seen it, I will send it you, and beg your encouragement in his printing it. I now bethink myself that you have not seen it, therefore I here send you Dr. Sampson's letter and draught, desiring your return of it after perusal. I have sent you Mr. Frankland's letter to me after long search, and a catalogue of my poor weak labours. I have done little concerning Mr. Sharp. You were mentioning a MS. of his upon Psalm xciv. 19; I long to see it, and wish its printing. Mrs. Sharp saith, Mr. Hickson hath it. Pray get it, and send it. I will promote it what I can. I have lately written a Treatise on a *Scriptural Fast*, being desired to do it. My son John hath it. If I have any encouragement, shall send it to the press. As for Mr. Stretton, my son hath had some letters from him. He complains that the shoemakers (I think) have taken their Hall from him, which was his Meeting-place, so he is destitute, hath been quite out of employ five or six Sabbaths, and he thinks he shall have none except he build one himself, for the people take no care. I am glad you are so well fitted with Mr. Manlove: pray give my dear love to him. My son John hath a motion to Pontefract. I know not what to advise. He is now married, and likely to remove from Ravenfield. I expect him and his wife to be with me this week. My dear love and service, with my wife's, to your wife, mother, brother, sister, &c. from

Your cordial friend, ready in all things to serve yours,
OL. HEYWOOD.*

These for his worthy and much honoured friend Mr. Ralph Thoresby, at his house in Leeds.

LETTER VIII.

TO THE SAME.

Worthy and dear Sir, *Nov.* 25, 1695.

I received your letter of Oct. 8, some time after its dating at Mr. Hough's, and that rich treasury of papers, which

* Appended to this letter, is a List of Mr. Heywood's Works in Mr. Thoresby's handwriting, the same as is given in the Edition now presented to the Public, in which is included the "Life of the Rev. Nathaniel Heywood," as Mr. O. Heywood's own production.

you were pleased to favour and honour me with, of worthy Dr. Sampson's: and my daily pressing occasions have compelled me to detain them longer than I was willing, but now send them back to you by J. Baxter after perusal, and am glad the Dr. proceeds in his resolution to print so incomparable a work. Mr. Reyner's is well done, and that little of Mr. Bowles's I believe to be true, but I question whether it be convenient to descend to the particulars of diary. I had got something out, of my reverend father Angier's, which the London ministers expunged. I can say little of Mr. Ward: I spoke to Dr. Cotton, but he doth nothing: nor of Mr. Newcome. As for Mr. Sharp and Mr. Illingworth, your intelligence transcends mine. All I can say is in my MS. of Mr. Sharp's funeral sermon, in Mr. Jollie's hands. I am reading his Treatise on Psalm xciv. 19. If I can retrieve any thing of Mr. John Leaver, Mr. Roger Baldwin, Mr. Henry Pendlebury, worthy your acceptance, I shall communicate it to you, that you may hand it to Dr. Sampson, to whom give my humble service when you write to him. I am glad you are so well employed, and do humbly present this small Treatise of a *New Creature* to you, hoping for your candid acceptance and furtherance of its sale by John Whitworth. My cordial love and service to your dear wife and mother-in-law; from

Your servant in the Lord,

OL. HEYWOOD.

These for Mr. R. Thoresby, at his house in Leeds.

LETTER IX.

TO THE SAME.

Honoured Sir, *March 2nd*, 1696.

Your kind letter I received by the hands of J. Baxter, and thank you for the intelligence therein contained. But I suppose the Parliament will find other work to do now than to pick quarrels. My son in London has sent me a full account of this hellish confederacy, and I may truly call it devilish conspiracy which will be such a divertisement as to beget an employment, if they know their own and the nation's interest. But my son at London signifies, there are eighty of them will not join in association for the king; some whereof are Yorkshire blades, but doth not think fit to name them. It is astonishing to find so many Jacobites. Tuesday morning, closet prayers have already produced good success. I am no politician, but a

poor petitioner at the throne of grace. The Lord reigneth let the earth rejoice! God has graciously prevented the plot, for which I hope a day of public thanksgiving will be appointed. God's ministers and people had agreed to devote every Tuesday morning, an hour to secret prayer, as foreseeing this by divine instinct some months before, and all men see the open answer. Let us bless our prayer-hearing, all-seeing, wonder-working God, and act answerably. I could wish Mr. Manlove may remember his promise to me, for a meeting of ministers at Millhill in convenient time. My love to you and yours, I am in haste, Your real friend,

O. HEYWOOD.

LETTER X.

TO THE SAME.

Dear Sir, *July* 19*th*, 1697.

I received the papers you sent me by J. Baxter, and heartily thank you, that I am yet within the lines of communication; for though Dr. Sampson do not write his letters to me, but to you, (because he thinks you are more able to be at charges) yet I have the benefit of them, but am sorry for the death of so many good men. As to what Mr. Stretton writes in your case, (I had a letter from him on another account last week,) I can say little, not understanding what oaths are requisites for aldermanship, but I have so much charity for you, that I presume you will do nothing, but what you have good warrant to judge lawful, yet I must caution you, (as I love you) to consult pious christian friends—take God's word for your rule—pray devoutly to God—renounce sinister ends—and design ultimately the glory of God, and you shall see God will lead you in the way that you should choose. Walk close with God, maintain daily communion with him and a sense of his omnipresence, and mortify affections to the world's triangular baits. I confess your parts and piety may both fit you for, and render you useful in a more public station, and I shall be glad to hear of your fair entrance on, and faithful management of such a degree, but high places are tickle, *et magistratus virum indicat.* The wise God direct you when such a case falls out, and I judge myself bound to put you among the clients I am advocate for at the throne of grace. But our Lord Jesus is chief advocate in the court of heaven, retain him, and you will not miscarry.

I make bold to enclose these few lines by you to Dr. Sampson, and commit you to the protection of the Almighty, with hearty love, and my wife's to you, resting,

Your obliged friend,

O. HEYWOOD.

LETTER XI.

TO THE SAME.

Dear Sir, *Aug. 9th*, 1697.

I am ashamed that I have not returned to you the enclosed before this; having been abroad and busy the two last Mondays, I forgot to write by J. B. till it was too late, for which I crave pardon. I now return it with thanks, and oft think of Dr. Sampson, though I know him not: it would satisfy my curiosity to know how many meeting-houses there are in London, and also in England. I would contribute what I know, if the Doctor would do something. It would greatly tend to God's glory, in raising up such a number of young men as would supply the breaches made. If you be alderman and mayor of Leeds, I hope you will not forsake your old friends, or forget that concern you have espoused. I am not able to advise, but be sure you keep faith and a good conscience—act by scripture rule—walk uprightly—maintain communion with God and his people—and aim at God's glory; and God Almighty bless you and yours!

So prays your obliged friend,

O. HEYWOOD.

LETTER XII.

TO THE SAME.

Dear Sir, *April* 9, 1698.

Yours I received some time ago. ..... Pray, sir, give my service to Mr. Manlove; tell him I have redoubled solicitations from Mr. Frankland to put us on, in Yorkshire, in addressing the king; I have written to Mr. Whitaker, but *al-*

tum silentium. I am willing, but cannot travel. My dear love to you and yours. From

Your cordial friend,

O. HEYWOOD.

P. S. I am mightily pleased with Mr. Manlove's book on the *Immortality of the Soul;* pray give my service and thanks to him. I am sure you have a great blessing in so worthy a man.

LETTER XIII.

TO THE SAME.

Dear Sir, *Jan.* 8, 1699.

I am now in a capacity to perform my promise, having last week received a parcel of the books from Mr. Parkhurst, and send you one as a token of my affectionate respects to you. I hope you received my brother's life, which I sent you, and if in any thing else I be able to please or pleasure yours, you shall command me. I have not found the letters you desired. Pray give me notice, if you can, whether Dr. Sampson will print the *History of Puritanism.* I want time to enlarge, only give my dear love and service, with my wife's, to your wife,—

Resting your obliged friend.

O. HEYWOOD.

LETTER XIV.

TO THE SAME.

Dear Sir, *Feb. 5th,* 1699.

I had notice by brother Baxter, that a leaf was wanting in Dr. Sampson's book; I know nothing of it. I have enquired of Mr. Priestley to whom I lent it, and to his father, and his brother Nathaniel. They remember there was a leaf loose, but think none was lost in their hands. Sir, I am busy with some lives of ministers, late of Yorkshire and Lancashire, but am hindered by other occasions, but hope within this fortnight or three weeks to send them. I want some help about Mr. Cornelius Todd, where he was minister when he died. Mr. Abrm. Sharp hath had his brother's book and memoirs to tran-

scribe two months; hasten him. My soul desires your best good. With service to you and yours,

Your observant friend,

O. HEYWOOD.

LETTER XV.

TO THE SAME.

Dear Sir, *Feb. 27th*, 1699.

I have taken some pains, (more pleasure) in transcribing the lives of these worthy men. I know I am defective in giving a full account of them, but hope these short hints will perpetuate their memory. You may please to adopt what you think fit, and transmit them to Dr. Sampson, who I hope will make haste to print his history. Some draughts of Mr. Frankland's life are designed to be printed with his funeral sermon, preached by Mr. Charlton; I have helped what I can, yet doubt nothing worthy of him, he having left us no memoirs under his hand. You know Mr. Sharp better than I. I sent his treatise long since to his brother to transcribe, but I perceive he makes no haste. I have enquired of the fate of Dr. Sampson's book, but can hear nothing of it. I am for sending two young men to Mr. Manlove next week. One is a nephew of mine, very hopeful, must follow them with my prayers. When you write to the Dr. give my service to him. Mine, and my wife's to you and yours, from

Your willing servant,

O. HEYWOOD.

LETTER XVI.

TO THE SAME.

Dear Sir, *Oct. 2nd*, 1699.

I received yours, and thank you for your kind invitation, but I am almost superannuated for distant journeys. Most of my work lies in my study, pulpit, or about home. I am concerned much for a fit man for Mill-hill, and hope you put to your helping hand, and hope your heart is there though

your body be not always present with them. I cannot forget you, for your dear father's sake, and your own, to whom I am so much indebted, and endeared. Be sure you keep close to God in spirit, wherein much of the life of religion consists.

I have this day made myself busy in transcribing these two lives. Short memoirs are most proper, else I could have enlarged. Pray when you write to Dr. Sampson, give my service to him, tell him I doubt his book will not antedate his death, except he make haste. I long, long for it. My dear love with my wife's to you and yours,

Your assured friend,

O. HEYWOOD.

LETTER XVII.

TO THE SAME.

Dear Sir, *Dec.* 11*th*, 1699.

I had intelligence that after the All-wise God had thought fit to lay his afflicting hand upon yourself, and second, and had graciously removed it from you, it pleased the Lord to renew his witness against you and laid his afflicting hand upon your children, and as I was informed plucked two out of your bosom. I was much troubled at the tidings, having felt the experiment of rending such members from my own body. I hope God supports you and your dear companion. Yet that must not be all, but a sanctified use of the hand of God is necessary, which consists in, 1. Reflecting on what we have done amiss, or been short in our duty to God and men: and then, 2. Importunately begging a pardon sealed to our consciences in the blood of Christ. 3. Renewing our covenant of better obedience, and more close walking with God in christian exercises, and in the communion of saints. And, 4. A heart more mortified to things below, elevation of our spirits to divine objects, preparatory for death and eternity. Dear sir, I think I did send you the short memoirs of Mr. Hawden's life; if you have any thing considerable from Mr. Sampson on Mr. Stretton, pray communicate it, as I shall freely do to you what is worth my writing or worthy your reading. I wish I were in a capacity to visit Leeds, but I am prevented from travelling, being so exceedingly shortwinded that I have much ado to get up stairs; being superannuated, I must confine myself to my study and pulpit till laid in the dust, and am longing for celestial views, having

had my glut of days, travels, and difficulties in this lower world. I desire your prayers for me and mine; my dear love to you and yours,

Your cordial friend and servant,

O. HEYWOOD.

LETTER XVIII.

TO THE SAME.

Dear Sir, *Jan.* 18*th*, 1702.

I received your letter, whereby I perceive you have been at our metropolis, and conversed with the grandees for nobility and learning, who I doubt not have greatly added to your soaring and profoundly searching speculations, which possibly are edifying to you, but not much to me; though delightful to know *omne scibile*, as it is said of Jerome. Your acquaintance with great personages I do not envy; I read what you write, but *to me, one hour's communion with God, and my improving my poor talent to gain souls for Christ, is all.* I thank you for Mr. J. Calvert's life, it came seasonably; for I was sending up to Mr. Calamy the Yorkshire and Lancashire ministers' lives to be appended to a book he prints of Mr. Baxter's life, connected with the rest of the Nonconformist ministers in England, all which I got copied out of my MSS. for I perceive Dr. Sampson has committed his lives and papers to Mr. Tong of Coventry, who lets them lie by him, and frames not to arrange them. This book is in the press, and will be out shortly, and this life of Mr. Calvert came but just in season, which I have sent up last Tuesday by the carrier. I got the same hand which copied out the former, to transcribe these, which I now send by J. B. for I suppose you have not seen them, because their deaths were of a later date. Mr. Baldwin, Mr. Pendlebury, Mr. Newcome, Mr. Seddon, all ancient, eminent ministers dead in one year's time, which made a great breach in that Salford hundred. God Almighty fit us for that hour, that we may be followers of them that, through faith and patience, inherit the promises. My dear love, with my wife's to you and yours, ends this trouble from

Your cordial friend,

O. HEYWOOD.

LETTER XIX.

TO THE SAME.

Dear Sir, *June* 1701.

I must confess my fault, and crave pardon for not answering your last letter some weeks ago. My multiplicity of business, and multitudes of letters received and answered, if known to you, would plead for me. I am satisfied about my son John's allowance; he has been here since. I have not yet found the lost letters. I suppose we shall hear in a little time of Mr. Tong's making something of Dr. Sampson's papers. Good sir, study the word of God, gospel mysteries, and the treachery of your own heart; maintain secret communion with God, and close fellowship and profitable improvement of communion with saints. My dear love with my wife's, to you and yours, from

Your obliged friend,

O. HEYWOOD.

LETTER XX.

FROM MR. J. HEYWOOD RESPECTING HIS FATHER'S LETTERS AND LIFE, TO MR. THORESBY.

Dear Sir,

I received the money you remitted by Mr. Reyner's son, and thankfully return you the receipts as you desire. We have not yet had time to look over dear father's MSS. and bundles of letters, so cannot furnish you with any valuable autographs, but when we do, assure yourself, I shall not be unmindful of obligations and promises. I am doing what I can to forward my father's life, but necessary and unavoidable occasions retard, nor do I find it so easy to do it to purpose, as at first sight it might seem to be. I forwarded yours to Mr. Croister, and now offer sincerest service to your good lady,

I am, Sir,

Yours to my power,

Sept. 27th, 1703. JOHN HEYWOOD.

LETTER XXI.

FROM THE SAME TO THE SAME.

Dear Sir,

I thankfully received both what you sent to me, and your kind letter. I am indeed a poor crippled prisoner, having by a fall dislocated the cap of my right knee; whereby I am laid aside as a vessel in which God has no pleasure, and of no use, which is very afflictive, though I hope but for a season, and the believing prayers of you and christian friends may forward a cure. My present lameness, (being confined to my bed) and severe indisposition under which I have laboured all this winter, have very much taken me off my design of finishing dear father's life. The hopes of obtaining any of Q. E's. autographs, I doubt are quite vanished, the opportunity being irretrievably lost. However mine, and my wife's sincere dues to you and yours concluding this from, Sir,

Your afflicted servant,

April 3rd, 1704. J. HEYWOOD.

Charlotte Comitissa [redacted] of Derby &c and Indubitat Patronissa of the Viraria
of Wrmisshirke in the County Palatyne of Lancaster Unto the hts the Commissioners &c
for approbacon and admission of Publique preacht Trinitie Christmas in o Lord God &c
Everlastinge: I Do p'sent unto yu to be admitted unto the Viraria of Wrmisshirke affore said —
beinge now voyd my welbeloved in Christ Nathaniel Heywood ministry of Gods word
humbly Desiringe that the said Nathaniel Heywood may be by yu admitted unto the
said Viraria with Right membrs and appurtenc And that yu wilbe pleased to Do
whatsoever shalbe requisite in that behalfe for the makinge him the said Nathaniel —
Heywood Virar of the Church of Wrmisshirke affore said according to the Statute Ordinance
in that Case made and Provided In Witnes whereof I have hereunto Sett
my hand and Seale the Twentie Day of August in the yeare of o Lord God —
One thowsand Six hundred thirtie Eight and Sixe:

Derby

Extrat Regr
octobr debte tertium
Jo Hanshaw Cleric

326 — 5

The annexed is the Original Presentation on the presentation of J. P. Heywood Esq of Wakefield
one of His Majestys Justices of the Peace for the West Riding of Yorkshire in behalf of the Rev. N. Heywood

MEMOIRS

OF THE

REV. NATHANIEL HEYWOOD,

Minister of the Gospel

AT

ORMSKIRK, IN LANCASHIRE.

—0000—

Dedicated to the Right Honourable Hugh, Lord Willoughby, by Sir H. Ashhurst, Bart.

—0000—

IDLE:

PRINTED BY JOHN VINT,

FOR THE EDITOR; FREDERICK WESTLEY AND A. H. DAVIS, STATIONERS' COURT; B. J. HOLDSWORTH, ST. PAUL'S CHURCH-YARD; R. BAYNES, PATERNOSTER-ROW, LONDON; AND D. BROWN, ST. ANDREW'S STREET, EDINBURGH.

1827.

DEDICATION.

To the Right Honourable Hugh, Lord Willoughby, Baron of Parham.

My Lord,

I take the liberty to dedicate to your Lordship, some Memoirs of the life of an excellent person, who was your countryman, and one for whom your Lordship had a just esteem. It is not to recommend to your Lordship any party of men among us, but plain christianity in legible and lively characters; and to remove a common objection against the most excellent precepts of our blessed Saviour, that they are hard sayings, and impracticable things. Here in a very plain manner is presented to your view, a minister of Jesus Christ, who had no other design in the world, but that of doing good to mankind, and is now partaking of the eternal joy of his Lord and Master, to whom he was so entirely devoted. It is your Lordship's quality, and ancient, and noble extraction that sets you above the common level of mankind, and draws the eyes of the world upon you; but there is somewhat greater, your exemplary piety and zeal for our holy religion, (in such a degenerate and licentious age,) and the countenance you give to serious piety, wherever you find it among all the different parties into which we are so unhappily broken, that makes you the ornament of your country, and highly esteemed by wise and good men, and obliges me to be with all imaginable respect,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's most humble

And faithful servant,

H. ASHHURST.

THE

PREFACE.

THE great God is clearly seen in the smallest things; a poor sparrow lighting on the earth, and a minute hair of men's heads, are regarded by the Omnipotent Providence. How much more doth the glorious Jehovah order the affairs of the children of men, and most of all the concerns of his church which is the *sanctum sanctorum*, the inmost circle of divine Providence? It is congruous to the church's state in this world to be militant; a lilly among thorns; her husband was a man of sorrows, and it becomes not his bride to be a wife of pleasures. If the head was crowned with thorns, the members must not think much to be conformable;* if they do these things to the green tree, what will they do to the dry? Nay, it is necessary and salutary for this body to be purged; this herb grows best when most trodden down; these vessels are brightest when most scoured. There is great need that God's children should be in heaviness, to poise their spirits, and prevent sensual indulgence. The vine must be lopt or it will grow wild; corn-bearing fields must be broken up. Afflictions never do the church hurt, but prosperity often lulls and rocks it asleep to its great prejudice, if not its utter subversion. Ministers usually stand in the front and are put upon the hottest service; the fire is continually burning on the brazen altar; the priests of old must first enter Jordan, and be the last standing in the midst thereof.† Satan's malice is most levelled at them, and God usually furnishes them with more magnanimity than others. He that still governs the world with infinite wisdom, hath appointed to the sons of men their peculiar office, station, and employment in the world, and qualifies them with gifts proportionably; he manageth their work for them,

* Non oportet membra deliciari sub capite spinis coronato. † Josh. iii. 8—17.

prospereth their undertakings, accepteth their faithful service, and will give them abundant recompence; yea, their work is their wages; it comes with a supply of meat in its mouth. A gracious heaven is the preludium of a glorious heaven; there is even much of glory upon a suffering Minister or Christian, when they are loaded with aspersions and obloquy, even then the Spirit of glory and of God resteth on them.* It is no diminution, but a manifestation of God's glory, when it shines through the glass of creatures; yea, the less of the creature's worth is discovered, the more of God is illustrated. We have this treasure in earthen vessels, that the excellency of the power may be of God and not of us. King Solomon must have a thousand, if vine dressers and fruit keepers have their two hundred.† Let ministers be invisible, so Christ be illustrious. As precious Mr. Wadsworth said, if God's work be done, I am content to be withdrawn out of sight. So some interpret that text, John iii. 29; as though the friend of the bridegroom will not be seen in the treaty, but he stands behind the curtain, and hears the bridegroom's voice, and the bride's consent, and greatly rejoiceth because the match is likely to go on. But the more completely a minister is nothing in his own eyes, the more doth God magnify him; as the wife shines in the beams of her husband's honour or riches, so also doth God in some sense shine in his servants' gifts and graces; our thoughts must go beyond the gift to the giver. A clear transparent glass set in the sun renders the sun most refulgent, the crystal is scarce visible, the sun is all; yet to our eyes the radiant sunbeams are more beautiful by the transmission through the glass, than shining directly upon us; but the glass gives not splendour to the sun, it only receives all from him. Thus is Christ all in all, and as these glasses are quickly broken and rendered useless, so are ministers, but the sun remains in its motion and shines still; for the sun depends not on the glass, but the glass on the sun; yea, God sometimes thinks fit to break the glass we are admiring, that our eyes may be intent upon the Sun of Righteousness, and behold all beauties in him, who is the Lord our righteousness. God in wisdom hath thought fit to cause an eclipse in the firmament of his church in these nations, by hiding many

* 1 Peter. iv. 14. † 2 Cor. iv. 7. Songs viii. 12.

lights under a bushel, about thirty years; and also translated most of them unto an upper region, where they shine brightest in their proper orbit, though "to us they disappear; the breaking of the shell is the brightening of the pearl; they were never so bright below as they are now above; once they saw through a glass darkly, now face to face; and laying aside this glass, face immediately they behold the glory of the Lord, and are changed into the same image from glory to glory.* "

These blessed souls now with God, are exposed neither to the black mists of human ignorance, nor to the foggy vapours of sinful defects, nor do they feel or fear any bespattering from opprobrious scorners, or black-mouthed slanderers, but are received up into heaven by this cloud of death, that hath hid them out of our sight, and hindered our converse with them; yet they have dropt the mantle of good example, which still we have; and observant eyes, and diligent pens have drawn some renowned champions in lively colours, in which we may behold much of God's image in the face of their intercourse with men, and conversation, both in their personal and public capacities: this is a petty resurrection, and much good service is thus done to succeeding ages, by which they being dead yet speak; yea, spiritual life is transfused to readers, through the lines and leaves, transmitted to them; blessed be God for these famous heroes. If the Jews mentioned illustrious men dead, with some distinguishing epithet, as Rabbi Hillel, of *blessed memory*; why should not the memory of the just still be blessed?† Certainly there is a vast difference in the ears of Protestants betwixt blessed Bradford and bloody Bonner.

Men usually say when they have interred the remains of their deceased relations, and left them in the dust, that they have done their last office to them or for them. But I judge that to be a gross mistake, for there are several offices to which we are bound on their behalf. 1. We ought to lament their death as a sad loss to the church of God, (I speak of pious and useful persons) decent funeral solemnities anciently lasted a considerable time, as we find in scripture.‡ 2. Observing and complying with the commands and the counsels of the departed, as in the case of Joseph's brethren. 3. Giving them deserved

* 1 Cor. xiii. 12. 2 Cor. iii. 18. † Prov. x. 7. ‡ Gen. l. 10.

commendation. 4. Vindication of their reputation according to truth. 5. Erection of monuments constructed for a memorial, as Jacob's over Rachel's grave.* 6. Composition of funeral elegies, as David's over Saul and Jonathan. 7. Owning our fathers' God and covenant; as Solomon was directed to do. 8. Manifesting evidence of the deceased's charity and piety as the widows did in reference to Dorcas. 9. An exact imitation of their praiseworthy acts. † 10. Communion with departed saints, believing that they as such are rejoicing in their glory; hoping in a short time to be with them, thinking of them, studying conformity to them, that we may do God's will on earth as it is done in heaven.‡ 11. Yea, something is also due from us, to the surviving relations of our pious deceased friends, as David shewed kindness to Jonathan's seed.‖ All this, and possibly more, without the imputation of saint worship, may surviving Christians do, when their religious friends and relations disappear in this lower world; only let us not admire them, but God in them, so saith the text 2 Thess. i. 10, "When he shall come to be glorified in his saints, and to be admired in all them that believe." Mark it, God's holiest saints must not be admired but God in them, our admiration must not respect men simply, but be terminated upon God through them; creature worship is very natural to us, especially if we see more than ordinary excellence in the creature, or receive some singular benefit thereby. The great apostle John was twice guilty of angel adoration, and was twice admonished against it. But doubtless it is a good practice, and no despicable office of surviving friends to commemorate the imitable acts of departed Ministers or Christians of considerable eminence and figure in the church. This is my apology for writing this history, knowing how acceptable it will be to christian friends, natural relations, and to the church of God; indeed he was amiable to all, and very imitable in the passages of his life, and the circumstances that relate to his death; of what was praiseworthy in him, let God have the glory; and over what is defective in the copy or transcriber let charity draw a veil.

* Deut. xxxiv. 10. Gen. xxxv. 20.
† 2 Sam. i. 17. 1 Kings iii. 6. Acts ix. 39. Heb. vi. 12.
‡ Heb. xii. 22. ‖ 2 Sam. ix. 1—5.

I do find that the servants of God have been very careful and particular in writing the lives of eminent men, as Camerarius wrote the life of Luther; Junius, of Ursin; Beza, of Calvin; Antonius Taius, of Beza; Josias Simlerus, of Peter Martyr; Dr. Humphrey, of Bishop Jewell, &c. Melchior Adamus hath summed them up together, and Mr. Samuel Clark hath made a large collection; neither the Person described, nor the Writer being on a level with those men of God, it doth make me blush to appear in this undertaking, especially in so critical an age as the present; but this I dare say, the subject or person treated of, was full of good works, and he that treats thereon is full of good will.

Nor have I related all that might have been written, or that he himself wrote, judging it not convenient because it might be offensive. Take this in good part, live up to it, pray for the weak transcriber, and beg hard that God would raise up many masters in Israel, to make up this and other vacancies made of late by the death of eminent ministers, which seems to be a sad omen and dreadful prognostic of some desolating judgment approaching; for our defence is departing from us; the chariots, and horsemen of Israel are ascending in a fiery chariot; stakes are taken out of the hedge, that wild beasts may enter; pillars are removed, the house totters, we have lost much good blood, Jacob's face looks pale. May our dear Lord once, at last, restore his ministers to their public employments, pour out a spirit of prayer, cause sinners universally to be cast into the mould of the gospel, and revive a work of reformation, that the promise, Isa. xxix. 22, 23, may be performed, "Thus saith the Lord, who redeemed Abraham, concerning the house of Jacob, Jacob shall not now be ashamed neither shall his face now wax pale. But when he seeth his children, the work of mine hands in the midst of him, they shall sanctify my name, and sanctify the Holy One of Jacob, and shall fear the God of Israel." Amen, so be it.

March 29th, 1694.

A

SHORT HISTORICAL ACCOUNT

OF THE

Life and Death

OF THE

REV. NATHANIEL HEYWOOD.

Mr. Nathaniel Heywood was born in Little Lever, in the parish of Bolton-le-Moors in Lancashire. His parents, Richard and Alice Heywood, were pious and respectable; he was baptized in the parish church, Sept. 16th, 1633. During his infancy he was exceedingly weak and sickly, he was much afflicted with fits of convulsion, and frequently under the sentence of death in the apprehension of all around him; his tender hearted parents often gave him up for gone, but God, who quickeneth the dead, brought him from the gates of the grave, that by him he might raise sinners from a death in sin to spiritual life. Nevertheless those violent fits, did so weaken his spirits, that in his younger days it was not judged eligible that he should be trained up for the ministry, and therefore his parents frequently took him from school, and occupied him in learning to write and cast up accounts, for the purpose of sending him to London to be an apprentice. But his natural strength having been recruited, and they being encouraged by his extraordinary capacity for learning, kept him still at school, having the advantage of a

learned and diligent master near them, who advised them to educate him as a scholar; especially from observing his inclination bent that way. At last they resolved upon it; and when he had passed his juvenile studies at school, after making great proficiency, notwithstanding frequent interruptions, he was thought prepared for the university at fourteen years of age; whither he went, and was admitted May 4th, 1648, into Trinity College at Cambridge; he was well approved for his school attainments; and devoting himself to his studies, he performed the usual exercises with applause; he had good natural abilities, a quick apprehension, solid judgment, and tenacious memory, which seldom meet in one person; he was qualified to manage what he undertook with great readiness and facility; so that he profited in academical learning beyond his equals.

As for religion, as yet his heart was not seasoned with a principle of saving grace; though he was religiously educated, united in holy exercises, loved God's people, and was not tainted with gross immorality; yet he had not discerned the evil of sin, the malignity of his nature, or the necessity of Christ, till he was providentially brought under the ministry of Mr. Hammond, Fellow of Magdalen College, preacher at St. Giles's, through whose plain and powerful preaching, his mind became the subject of strong convictions, which cost him many sad thoughts of heart, as well as tears, but ended at last in a genuine conversion, in sincere covenanting with God, and in centring his soul by faith on Jesus Christ. Then he associated with serious Christians, and walked exemplarily; he however complained of his backslidings, of which he repented, and his soul was healed. When he had taken his degree, he went to London, and there heard Mr. Peter Sterry;

and was much pleased with his talents and manner of preaching.

When he came down into the country, his father judged it convenient to place him under the tuition of some reverend minister, by whose care and example he might be prepared for further service. And it pleased God, in his providence, to settle him in the family of that solid and judicious divine, Mr. Edward Gee, minister of Eccleston; where he continued two years studying hard, behaved himself orderly, and profited much: so that he often blessed God for the good he received in that family. And indeed he was moulded into the method, manners, and practice of that holy and eminent man of God, whose excellent treatises on *Prayer and Government* speak his real worth. He was a man distinguished for his learning, orthodoxy, and holiness; a most judicious, scriptural preacher; son to that famous Mr. Gee mentioned by historians in the fall at Blackfriars.

Whilst Mr. Heywood lived in Mr. Gee's family, God directed his thoughts to a young gentlewoman in the neighbourhood, Miss Elizabeth Parr, a relation to Dr. Parr, Bishop of the Isle of Man, whom in convenient time he married, and she became a pious, prudent, provident wife to him, by whom he had several children, six of whom are yet living—two sons and four daughters; his eldest son succeeded in his father's place as pastor in the newly erected meeting-house, a young man of great accomplishments and exemplary piety.

When Mr. Heywood was married, it pleased God to give him a call to a people in Yorkshire: for he had a great desire to be employed in his Lord's work, and the very day that an invitation came to him, he told the messenger, he had been spending most of it in fasting and prayer, wherein he found his heart much en-

larged, and therefore he looked upon that Call as an answer of prayer, and on that account freely embraced it, and in due time took his departure.

The place to which he was called was Illingworth chapel, in the vicarage of Halifax, Yorkshire. When he had preached a day or two with them, the people laid hold of him, and engaged him to settle with them, which he did. He continued three or four years, and was an instrument of much good in that place, having a full auditory, and some seals of his ministry. But Satan envying the success of the gospel, raised up some potent adversaries against him, who maligned and opposed him for the faithfulness of his plain admonitions. Some meetings took place about his continuance. One said to him, Mr. Heywood, you have raised differences and disturbances since you came. He answered, I have not sought the *peace* of the place, but the *good* of it. Which the man ruminated upon, but could not tell what to make of that expression; not remembering that the principal design of the gospel and its publishers, is the good of souls, but the accidental fruit of it is dissension, through the corruption of men's hearts, according to what our blessed Lord expressed: "Think not that I am come to send peace on earth; I came not to send peace but a sword."* During this controversy about his stay or removal, an earnest request was sent to him by the people of Orms-church to come among them; he hearkened to them, having several discouragements at Illingworth, which cannot here be named, notwithstanding some cordial friends in that congregation adhered closely to him, and claimed an interest in him; both parties using more than ordinary arguments and importunity, did exceedingly perplex him, and put him upon the rack of suspense. He earnestly sought

* Matt. x. 34, 35.

God about it; he begged the advice and prayers of friends, and at last was counselled to refer the business to several ministers indifferently chosen by both parties, to hear what could be said, to obtain a knowledge of circumstances, and give their decision in this weighty case: indeed a third put in an earnest plea for him, namely, Thornton, in Bradford parish, but the controversy lay chiefly between Ormskirk and Illingworth. Ministers met relative to this concern at Wigan, in Lancashire, in January, 1656, with two or three of the inhabitants of those three forementioned places: much debate there was, and some hard words passed; the business was difficult and cost many hours' discourse, both during the day and in the evening; and upon a serious view of the reasons on all hands, at last the ministers concluded, that his way was clear to leave Yorkshire and remove to Ormskirk, which being a great parish, and a considerable market-town, the people not only being destitute but very importunate, they judged that he might do God and his church more service in that great place. And, indeed his own inclinations carried him most that way, for some particular reasons. He removed with his family thither in the spring, 1657, where he was received with much respect and great solemnity: and there he laboured faithfully and diligently in the course of his public ministry, his private instructions, and his visiting of the sick, till August 24, 1662—that black doom's day, on which so many were sentenced and struck dead in law as to any public service.

The annual income of this vicarage was very small, not amounting to above £30. a-year; but there was an exhibition of £50. a-year granted by queen Elizabeth for an itinerant preacher, which exhibition had been long enjoyed by the minister of that place. There

were four of them in Lancashire, of which this was one, and £200. per annum was allowed out of the revenue for them, which was paid by several trustees at the audits.

At the return of king Charles II. one Mr. Stanninghaugh, minister of Aughton, about two miles from Ormskirk, when receiving £148. a-year, rode up to London, and by the help of friends, surreptitiously obtained the annuity of £50. to be settled upon himself; which gave occasion to some persons to reflect on a sermon Mr. Heywood preached at Ormskirk, on a day of thanksgiving for the the king's restoration from 2 Sam. xix. 30, "And Mephibosheth said unto the king, yea, let him take all, forasmuch as my lord the king is come again in peace unto his own house:" which was indeed an excellent discourse greatly approved, and highly applauded by all; especially the gentry, who earnestly solicited him to publish it, but he refused, not out of disloyalty, but modesty; not because he durst not own his sovereign, but because he was not willing to expose himself to observation.

Mr. Heywood bore this disingenuous carriage of his neighbour and pretended friend with great equanimity and calmness, which proved a curse to the one and a blessing to the other; for though this Mr. Stanninghaugh's living was £148. a-year, and his tenement worth £30. yearly, besides the annual grant of £50. and though he had no child, yet he left nothing at his decease but debt, and his wife in poor circumstances.

But it pleased God, from that time, to bless Mr. Heywood's small income wonderfully, and it is next to a miracle to consider what great things he did. When shortly after he was turned out of all, he paid some debts and maintained his numerous family in great decorum, (for he had nine children, of whom six are yet living)

took the lease of a house and some land, for three lives, paid £60. and built a considerable portion; he also paid £30. for buying out a lease elsewhere, maintained his two sons at school at Up-Holland, which cost him £14. a-year, and sent one of them to Mr. Frankland, to be educated in university learning, besides having many severe afflictions in his family. Yet such was the blessing of God, that he passed through all without contracting any debt, but rather increasing his property out of his small income. This holy man was very sensible of this extraordinary providence, and often expressed what he felt with admiring thankfulness.

In the year 1662, Aug. 24:—That fatal day struck him civilly dead with the rest of his brethren: however he continued his public preaching in the church after that day without disturbance, till the place was filled up with a new vicar. This was a Mr. Ashworth, a schoolmaster, who lived six or eight miles from thence, taught a school, rode to Ormskirk on Saturday, and returned back on Monday morning. He was absent all the week for several years, so that Mr. Heywood still seemed to have the sole charge of that town and parish, visiting the sick, instructing the people, praying with them, and preaching privately to them as opportunity was offered. He was abundant in the work of the Lord, not only in his own parish, but at Wigan, Warrington, Liverpool, Preston, Eccleston, and on a call in more remote places.

But in his own parish, and amongst his old hearers he was in labours more abundant, he usually preached twice on a Lord's day, sometimes several times on week days, ordering his labours in different parts of the parish, both during the day and at night: even in times of great danger, he has preached at one house

the beginning of the night, and then gone two miles on foot over mosses, and preached toward morning to another company at another place.

Nor was he scant and short in his sermons, but usually long, two hours at least, often three; yea, sometimes he would even continue four or five hours, praying and preaching: his heart was so fully set upon his Master's work, that he forgot his own strength and his hearers' patience. Nor did he tediously dream over his work, but was full of zeal, vigour, tenderness, and affection, often strained his voice beyond what his natural strength could well bear, which occasioned torturing and mortal disease—like a candle he spent himself to give others light.

Neither was he *vox et præterea nihil*, a mere voice and no more, as some preachers, who like thunder make a loud noise, without any distinct or significant sound; no, his sermons abounded with solid divinity, scripture arguments, alluring similies, and heart-melting passages. He was an excellent text man, producing judicious interpretations; an experienced casuist, resolving cases of conscience with correct discrimination; a clear disputant, stating controversies accurately and distinctly, answering objections skilfully and satisfactorily, and proving the truth to a demonstration. He was a pathetic preacher, riveting the nail by faithful appeals to the consciences of his hearers, and earnest exhortations to repentance or to particular duties, and also by stating plain, undeniable, and important truths, still laying open and obviating Satan's wiles, the deceits of a bad heart, and the ensnaring insinuations of a wicked world, probing the conscience by a thorough examination, and comforting God's children with precious gospel promises.

This, this indeed was his masterpiece, and the main

scope of his preaching, to lay open the beauties and excellencies of the blessed Jesus, and the great necessity which sinners have for him—to display in lively colours the love of God in sending his Son, the love of Christ in the unparalleled work of redemption, and the undertaking, purchase, and offices of the Son of God—to unfold the covenant of grace, and to describe the operations of the Spirit in applying the merits of Christ, &c. The truth of this appears in two excellent discourses transcribed from his own notes, as he preached them the same year he died. The one called *Christ the choicest Gift*, which was grounded on John iv. 10. The other entitled *Christ the best Master*, a discourse on John xiii. 13. They form two excellent treatises, and are bound up together: they were printed after his death, (for he could never be persuaded to publish any thing,) though doubtless they would have been more accurate, if he had supposed they would ever see the light; but such as they are, they have proved very acceptable and profitable to the church of God; many have read them with pleasure, and some good divines have made extracts from them.

His labours in the ministry were so exceedingly welcome, that the loss of his public services was greatly lamented by the whole town and parish, he was beloved of all, good and bad. A poor ignorant man came to him when he was turned out; saying, ah, Mr. Heywood, we would gladly have you preach again in the church; yes, said he, I would as gladly preach as you desire it, if I could do it with a safe conscience by conforming. The man replied, oh sir, *many a man now-a-days makes a great gash in his conscience, cannot you make a little nick in yours?*

That was a remarkable disaster which happened at Ormskirk on July 30th, 1662; which Mr. Heywood,

thus describes in a letter to a friend: "About four o'clock in the afternoon, there was a storm of dreadful thunder and lightning for a long time together; and in the town of Ormskirk, and about it, fell a great shower of hail in a terrible tempest, hailstones were as big as ordinary apples, some say, nine inches in circumference; one stone that I took up was above four inches, after it had thawed in my hand. The hail broke all our glass windows westward; we have not one square whole at the back of our house, so it is with most of the houses in and about the town; it hath cut off all the ears of our standing corn, so that most fields which were full of excellent barley and other grain, are not worth reaping. It hath shaken the apple-trees, and in some places bruised the apples in pieces: the hail cut boughs from trees, and some say there have been strange appearances in the air, of which I shall give you a further account. All, especially the ignorant, were much terrified, thinking it to be the day of judgment; certainly it was a sad sign and effect of God's heavy displeasure with us, and I wish it be not a presage of more abiding judgments; they tell me that my small share of loss will amount to £10. at least; in half an hour all this hurt was done. The Lord sanctify this sudden stroke to me and my poor people." Mr. Clark in his *Examples* hath this story, and mentions Mr. Heywood's attestation of it, which however I thought proper to relate here, partly because this is a fuller account than he gives, and partly to shew how observant this holy man was of the remarkable providences of God. It was his observation that this natural storm, was a sad presage of a moral storm on ministers and churches, which fell the very month after, which rooted up so many useful fruit-bearing trees, marred so much good fruit, and shattered the glass by which

the light of saving truth is conveyed into the house of God. This good man was so endeared to his people, that he was resolved never to part from them till death made the divorce: of them he thus writes, "I have an affectionate though poor, a docile though ignorant people, they flock in very great numbers to the ordinances, and I have hopes of doing some good, (it may be already begun) amongst them, I have some solicitation to conform, but I will not change on any account whatsoever, let me have your prayers, help me for this poor people, whom I love as my own children, and long after in the bowels of Christ."

He had frequent disorders in his body which much promoted God's work upon his heart. In the year 1667, he had a violent distemper, which in a fortnight's time brought his bodily frame very low, and by the time he was recovered, his dear wife fell into a sad languishing disease, which threatened death, besides grievous afflictions in her spirit, and sad apprehensions of death for above a month together. A swelling also commenced in her throat, which increased to a hard tumour in the inside, and which inevitably in the eye of reason threatened death, but beyond all expectation, God did graciously remove that cause of complaint, and raised her up again in mercy to the family. In the year 1670, his son Nathaniel was in an extraordinary manner seized with convulsion fits, which acutely pained and distorted his face, limbs, and every part of his body, but God also at last restored him. These providences however found Mr. Heywood work for, and quickened his spirit in, prayer.

In October 1671, Mr. Heywood fell into a malignant fever, which (as his two doctors, Dr. Fife and Dr. Grundy said) had seized the nerves, and spirit, and brain; he was not in extremity of pain, because, (as

the physicians said) the disease lay not so much in the blood. Upon the thirteenth day after he began, it was judged that all was over with him. Dr. Fife, a boisterous man, and Justice of the peace in the Fylde country near Garstang, called for a candle and bade him open his mouth, which when he had inspected, he swore a great oath, and said, "his tongue is as black as a coal, call the mistress of the house," said he, "let him set all things in order, and make his will, for he is a gone man;" these words astonished his family, but his own and only surviving sister, being present, and hearing these confident expressions, gathered encouragement, and thought within herself, "this is but a man and may be deceived, God is God, and can make his words false." Thus Dr. Fife left him as hopeless, and said it was in vain to give him any thing. But before he came to his own house at Houghton Tower, a fever violently seized the doctor himself, and in a few days brought him to his end, so he never returned home alive; but from that very day the fever abating, Mr. Heywood began to amend. There was probably at that time a crisis when the disease was at its height, for it was a dreadful day and night, he had all the symptoms of death upon him, but God had mercy upon him, as upon sick Epaphroditus,* God had much work for him to do. He however continued under weakness, and some disorder in his head, for he could not be persuaded that he was at home, confidently affirming he was at Bickerstaff, where indeed he was immediately before he began his distemper, on a visit to Sir Edward Stanley, who had begun in a fever, and died shortly after. Mr. Heywood would needs be helped to the window to see the funeral pass by to the church.

This sore sickness was in the year 1671; and the

* Phil. ii. 27.

king's licenses came out in the year following, 1672; but indeed hitherto he had very little or no disturbance in his work of preaching, God was preparing him both for service and suffering. This sickness preceded service, God laid the foundation low, designing to build high, and often he thinks fit to lay the fairest colours upon a sable bottom; God passed the sentence of death upon him immediately before a petty resurrection, for in the spring following came out the liberty to preach. Mr. Heywood cordially embraced it, and had two chapels licensed, namely, Bickerstaff, adjoining to Lady Stanley's house, two miles south from Ormskirk, the other was Scarisbrick, two miles north from the parish church, both in Ormskirk parish; these he supplied constantly, preaching at the one chapel one Lord's day, at the other the next, of which he thus writes, "I bless God my congregation is numerous and attentive, oh that they were as fruitful; my family is healthful, oh that they were more holy."

He continued two years in these two chapels, but about April 9th, 1674, he thus writes, "I have had more trouble and opposition in my ministerial employment, these four months last past than ever I had in all my life, yet am not taken off to this day. Archers have sorely grieved us and shot at us thirty-four arrows, (I mean warrants,) but our bow abides in strength, by the hands of the mighty God of Jacob; officers have come eighteen Lord's days together, but have not as yet scattered us. How easy it is for God to save us while we serve him, if we could believe; I am encouraged to hope that some good is done, or may be done, by my poor labours in this season, and it is no bad sign, when Satan rageth so violently against us. God can work without, or against means, and can work by improbable means to accomplish great ends.

I was never more inwardly borne up under storms, nor strengthened against difficulties at any period of my life, it may be my time is but short, and my work near an end. Oh, that I may live and die in God's work and way, and be faithful unto death. Dear brother, let my condition have a deeper impression on your heart than ordinary. Two warrants, one for £20. the other for £40. have been out against me these seven weeks, but we keep our doors fast barred, and the officers are very civil to us. Oh that I could see you! I have no horse, but go all my journeys on foot."

November 13, 1674. He thus writes, "I bless God my liberty, nowithstanding all my troubles, is not wholly lost, but sometimes disturbed; we meet in fear, yet we meet in both chapels; no warrant has been sent for a month or more, and my auditory increaseth again. O that I had a heart to improve late experiences and present opportunities, and do my duty, leaving the issue to him that judgeth righteously."

But his excessive pains, though refreshing to his spirit, were wasting to his bodily frame, for about that time, thus he writes: "I am still at work in both chapels, but I am much brought down, with pains and weakness of body, having overdone my strength, and wasted myself in these intervals of liberty, which God hath given us. But I have no reason to repent any thing I could ever do for so good a Master. O that I had done more and better.

About the same time, he writes thus: "Some assaults Satan hath made upon me, with a right hand temptation; the whole parish of Aughton have been importunate with me, to put myself into a capacity for their parsonage, worth seven or eight score pounds per annum, the bishop, (that is, Dr. Wilkins) promiseth favour to me in it; but God did not leave me so much,

as to have any serious thoughts of yielding to that temptation. I do preach still, but not so constantly, nor in so full a congregation as formerly. Dear brother, I beseech you for the Lord's sake, and for the love of the spirit, strive together with me in your prayers to God for me, you know for what, &c."

At last after many strugglings, threats, alarms, people's withdrawing, and rallying again, a stratagem was contrived to knock all dead at a blow. Some deputy lieutenants sent a party of soldiers to take Mr. Heywood in the pulpit, and though it was known, yet they met in Bickerstaff chapel: Lady Stanley came out of her gallery, and placed herself near the pulpit door, hoping to overawe their spirits, and obstruct their designs; the soldiers stood without, while Mr. Heywood was at prayer, but when he had prayed, they rushed in, and required him to come down and go along with them, he mildly desired the favour that they would give him leave to preach, and he would go along with them, but they rudely pushed towards the pulpit; the Lady would have stopped them, but they pressed forwards, opened the pulpit door, got hold of his coat and tore it, and forcing him out, took him away with them straight to Up-Holland, nor could the Lady's mediation prevail to procure him a little refreshment; only on the road he grew faint, and desired them to call with him at an alehouse, which they did, and the landlady, though he had no acquaintance with her, was exceeding kind to him, and said he should have any thing she had in the house; but "those rogues," said she, "shall not have a morsel that took him," so they carried him away to an alehouse in Up-Holland, where he lodged that night, from whence he thus wrote to his wife:—

"I am very well, I bless God, and never in greater

honour or so highly advanced in all my life, I was dragged out of the pulpit with a pistol lifted up to my head, and a G—d-d—n-me in my ears, but the man repents of his rashness, and wishes he had let me preach, for he never heard a better prayer, &c. But be not troubled, God hath shewed me more mercy than I can be thankful for; O help me to praise him, O what cause have we to rejoice in suffering on this account, God will have glory, and his church the benefit; but I fear it must be an imprisonment, or promise not to preach, which is my very life."

But God in his gracious providence did also scatter this cloud, for the day after when it was noised abroad that Mr. Heywood was taken, a multitude of people, and many considerable gentlemen, and some that were no friends to his cause, yet out of respect to his person, mediated for him; even several of good report, and intimate with the Justices, offered to be bound for his appearance, and to give any security that should be required; the Justices then tendered him the Oxford oath, he was in a strait, and peremptorily refused it; they had some advantage against him, he told them that persons must swear conscientiously and with judgment, and therefore he desired some time to consider of it, which was granted; and seeing such an appearance of persons of all ranks for him, they gave him respite, and liberty to go home, till the next Quarter Sessions, which were to be held at Wigan a month after, and they bound him to appear at the Sessions.

Thus he was delivered out of that snare and went home, and wrote the following letter that day, dated Jan. 28th, 1674. "Pray help me to praise God, and in your prayers remember a poor sufferer for the gospel. People do so throng in to see me, now I am

come home again, that I have not time to write fully to you, but commit you to God and his protection, that you may long enjoy, and usefully improve that sweet liberty in God's vineyard which I doubt I have lost;" and indeed so it proved.

The Sessions at Wigan came on, he attended there according to his bonds; several Justices appeared for him, and his friends came to see the issue, and to mediate for him; old Lady Stanley came herself with her husband; Mr. Henry Houghton, a Justice of the peace; Mr. Christopher Banister of Bank, and several others spoke much on his behalf; another Justice then upon the bench, said, if Mr. Heywood was sent to Lancaster jail, he should be as comfortably maintained, and as honourably released, as ever any prisoner was. Some of his adversaries, seeing which way the Court inclined, stole away in discontent, took horse and rode home. Thus the snare was again broken, and Mr. Heywood was dismissed to the joy of his friends, vexation of his enemies, and surprise of all.

Other snares were laid to entrap him on the Five Mile Act, but so generally was he beloved, no one could be brought to swear that he lived in the town, though he was usually at home, and conversed openly among the inhabitants. A warrant was issued out to distrain upon Mr. Heywood's goods for £20; but the officers said the doors were shut, and they had no orders to break them, yet they might have taken advantage, if they had been severe; but indeed they were generally very favourable. It is true, the doors were kept fast for half a year together, till things wore off; and they never got a pennyworth of his goods, which was looked upon as a very wonderful providence, for children and others were frequently passing and repassing through the out doors, in front and behind. God took him off

his work by men's rigour, and also impeded his former diligence, by his own immediate hand, upon his body, much about the same time. Thus he writes:

"May 7th, 1675. I am glad your precious liberty is continued. I have nothing to do now at home, and am much abroad, which is a heavy burden to me, pray, continue, increase your fervent prayers for me; riding is very painful to me."

Jan. 1st, 1676, he writes thus: "I am now very busy, blessed be God; and these holy days, (so called) when others play, I work, having preached oftener here in a few days, than I did in the whole year preceding. I was lately at Chester, being forcibly drawn thither by the importunity of friends, where I preached thrice, and had great encouragement; God hath much people I believe in that place, they would have persuaded me to live with them; but I am resolved to remain here yet, where providence hath so visibly settled me, preserved and provided for me. My lads seem to be inclined to the ministry—who knows but God may be fitting instruments for his work in the next age? for my part I can see no reason to look for any thing but trials in this."

He was always a zealous impugner of, and a notable champion against papists, of whom there are great numbers in those parts. When Mr. Heywood had been sent for to visit sick persons, in which work he was constant, careful, and sometimes successful; popish friends or neighbours would often procure some popish priest, or one of their religion, to come also to them, and if they had but the least pretence to give it out that the party died in their faith, they would wonderfully exult over the Protestants. One person died, with whom Mr. Heywood took great pains, and a popish priest also frequented that house, who was so

vexed because he could not prevail with the party, that he wrote some queries for Mr. Heywood to answer; these he did so judiciously and solidly refute, that the ignorant priest was nettled and puzzled, and sent to one of their more learned advocates to support their desperate and falling cause; this man made a large rejoinder, with abundance of quotations out of ancient writers, to which Mr. Heywood made a learned and sufficient reply; only he was deficient, because he had not by him the authors quoted, therefore he sent the papers to Mr. Illingworth, an excellent scholar, and at that time much conversant with the College library at Manchester, who took abundance of pains to search out and read over some large volumes, to answer a quotation which referred not to book, chapter, or page; however by their joint efforts, that work was incomparably executed, worthy of an impression, but to this day they heard no more of that gentleman.

Another passage he wrote in a letter dated June 12, 1675, to this purpose: "I do just nothing almost, either publicly or privately; it is much worse with me than before the indulgence, yet God hath of late employed me another way, not however so delightful or congenial as preaching. A gentlewoman inclined to marry a Popish gentleman, would not marry till she had satisfaction that it was lawful, from some divine, and pitched on me to resolve the case, which I did very freely and plainly to her once or twice: I never dealt so plainly with any person in my life, and yet she took all well, whereas she differed with her nearest relations and best friends for speaking but a little against it: she would needs have my reasons in writing, and having got them in a large dissuasive letter, she shewed it to the gentleman, and he carried it to a priest. Twelve days after, she brought me a long and subtle answer,

to which I made a large and, I think, satisfactory reply. In the meantime we endeavoured to divert her to other matches, but all in vain, her affections were too strong for her judgment. Though she seemed to approve and consent to my reply, yet she kept up her connection with the gentleman, and was just on the point of marriage, so that I could expect no other fruit of my labour in it, than my own satisfaction that I had done my duty, leaving the event to God: God appeared in the mount. One Mr. D. a hopeful young gentleman of religious parents in Cheshire, coming very accidentally to A. and finding this lady there, was attracted by her, paid his addresses to her, and married her in eight days' time. Such a providence must not pass without particular notice, and special praise to God. The young gentleman came thither also for a diversion, yet knowing nothing of her but designing another place, was persuaded by a minister in his company to take a night's lodgings at A. This circumstance has become a subject of conversation throughout the whole country, has caused shame and confusion to the Papists, who had a design upon that family and were confident it was their own; and has been a source of joy to all good Protestants, and all friends of that worshipful family. I want and crave your help, to give due praise to God for answering prayers so wonderfully."

Another thing which greatly exasperated the Popish party, was a severe and pointed sermon Mr. Heywood preached on Nov. 5, 1673. at Scarisbrick chapel, from Rev. xviii. 4, a very learned, judicious discourse against the Papists; which, together with the forementioned provocations, did so offend them, that though they could not take full revenge on him themselves, yet they prevailed with some Justices to prosecute him; and this is thought to be the true reason of all that unparalleled

rage which some displayed against Mr. Heywood, whereas several others in the same circumstances as culpable, were suffered to enjoy their meetings quietly.

In the midst of these employments and oppositions, God was pleased to lay a very afflictive distemper upon him, which for a long time was judged to be the gravel; certainly it was exceedingly acute and painful, yet it is disputable whether his loss of gospel liberties, or his violent bodily disorder, was the greater affliction on him. His being on horseback about six or seven miles, in the year 1675, rendered his pain scarcely tolerable. Thus he writes: "Want of health and liberty (believe me) are two sore evils; I hope you will particularly help me with your prayers for direction as to health, but more especially as to the restoration of liberty in my beloved work, the loss of which is a greater grief, than the want of health and ease." In another letter dated July 15, 1676, he saith, "I have endured extreme pain and torment a month together, nearly the whole of which time the passages of nature affected by my complaint, were almost entirely obstructed, which caused inexpressible agony, and so enfeebled my frame that I began to apprehend death was approaching. The good Lord fit and prepare me for it, and account me worthy to find mercy in that time of need. My pain was occasioned by the sultriness of the weather, and preaching in that hot season oftener and longer than I was well able to bear. I am sure I have greatest reason to submit to his holy will, and even to be thankful also, that though he hath afflicted me very sore, yet he hath not given me over to death, whereas I hear of many that have of late been carried off by my disorder, (Bishop Wilkins, cousin John Crompton, and several in this quarter within these two

months.) I beg your prayers that, if God spare my life, he would also give health and liberty to improve it in his service, more publicly and usefully; or if death come, (which will be less unwelcome because of my restraints, pangs, and troubles in this world, only my wife and children make the thoughts of it burthensome) may God be glorified, I hope it will be my advantage. I wish neither you nor any other faithful minister, that minds and loves his work, may ever know what I have felt in the want of my stated charge and accustomed employment. Other afflictions are light, compared to a dumb mouth and silent sabbaths."

Yet, notwithstanding all this affliction, he had a very great desire, once again, if it were the will of God, to visit his friends in Yorkshire, and God was pleased to grant his request, for he gave him some mitigation of his pain, which was an encouragement to undertake that journey; accordingly himself, his wife, and his two sons, travelled into Yorkshire, April 20, 1677; there he preached the sermons that have been since printed, and another most excellent and pathetic sermon on Rom. v. 8. From thence he sent his eldest son to be trained up in academical learning with Mr. Frankland at Natland in Westmoreland. But O what affectionate parting was there, as if they must never see one another's faces again, (and indeed so it proved) they could not speak to one another for weeping and excessive emotion, he desired another to pray, for he could not refrain. In that journey, he was carried out beyond himself in praying, preaching, and discoursing to the admiration and edification of all his former friends in that district, though he had frequent returns of his wonted pain. He was as a man coming down from heaven to tell what is done there, or as one ripe for heaven,

too great for earth, upon the wing to take his flight into the mansions above, as happened to be the case.

After he had done what he designed, he left Yorkshire, May 1, 1677, but could travel that day only ten miles; the next morning he went to Rochdale, but was forcibly detained by the importunity of christian friends, and preached there that evening, though greatly to his prejudice as to health; the day following he reached Bolton, and, as he said, with great difficulty and hard struggles they got home on Friday night. Thus God carried him abroad in mercy, and brought him seasonably back to his own house in safety.

How much he was satisfied with this journey (though his pains were extreme several days after his return home) his letter, May 14, 1677, testifies: "The great mercy," saith he, "in my late journey to you, comforts with you, and safe return home, where we found all well, I hope I shall never forget; pray help me to be grateful for them. I do heartily thank you for all your pulpit, table, house, and country kindness. I am sorry and ashamed I made no better improvement of them, not knowing that ever I shall again enjoy such opportunities of doing myself and others good in your quarter, but an indisposed body and a bad heart mar duties and waste mercies." His distemper still continued and prevailed upon him all that summer. In a letter dated September 20, 1677, he saith, "I am far from being well, and as the church once complained, she forgat prosperity, so I health, and am ready sometimes to add, as she did, 'My strength and my hope is perished from the Lord.' This day five weeks, I came from the exercise at Toxteth Park, where I had preached twice, and oftener than my strength could well bear. Since that day I have never been on horseback, nor preached except once near home; but all this time God hath

been preaching to me, with a terrible thundering voice. O that I could hear the rod, and him who hath appointed it. So sharp and so long a fit of pain I never had, since this disorder seized me. God alone knows what may be the issue of it, but for my part, though I find it no easy matter to look death in the face, and to conquer the difficulties that precede and attend it, yet I have no great reason to love life, or to desire my long stay in this wicked, weary world; my agonizing days and wearisome nights make thoughts of death and the grave less terrible, and apprehensions of rest with Christ most welcome and pleasant. But I feel natural inclinations working towards life, and fondly hold up to myself the fair glass of doing God more and better service in his church. I am best resolved and most at anchor, when I can say, (but oh how seldom, how coldly!) The will of the Lord be done. Dear brother, pray for me, (as I would do for myself) that to me to live may be Christ, and to die gain. Yesterday for some hours I was in extreme torment, but am much easier, I bless God, to-day; but my pain is not in the same manner as formerly, but like an ulcer in the bladder, which makes my disease more dangerous as well as painful. It is the Lord's mercy that I am not utterly consumed, that I can sit thus long to write to you, which many a time I cannot, but I am now weary."

The last letter, so far as I can find, was by him dated Oct. 23rd, 1677; which I shall for the most part transcribe.

"My dear Brother, this evening I received yours, for which I thank you, it breathes nothing but love and comfort to me. Oh, how sweet, how seasonable your expressions of love! Oh, how tender! especially I thank you for your prayers, and the prayers of others by your means. I account them a precious treasure,

and the surest and speediest remedy in all troubles. Oh! pray again, who knows but that may prevail when nothing else can? I have been sensibly better since that day on which you shed so many tears over my case with such breathings of soul. But who am I, that any should be concerned for me? a poor, weak, useless creature, nothing and less than nothing; I have been long, with respect to usefulness in God's vineyard, a withered branch, a dry stick, and now my body is withered like the grass, my skin parched, my moisture dried up through extremity of pain, which hath continued nine or ten weeks, day and night. About a month ago, friends seeing death in my face, they prevailed with me to send for Dr. Grundy, who found me in a languishing condition, yet not without some hope. He told me my distemper was a dysuria, my blood was vitiated, my moisture sour, and there wanted due separation of the serum from the blood, that it would require much time and patience to bring the body to a good state, &c. Since, I have been taking one sort or other of physic; still however my pain continues, though not altogether so acute, as at the first, but I have very weary, restless nights; many times I am constrained to get up and walk two or three hours, but God supports, his word comforts in all and over all, his ways are mercy and truth, it is his mercy that I am not consumed, yea, it is in mercy and faithfulness, that I am afflicted. I would not have been without this trial for an earthly kingdom; if God please to spare my life, and restore strength, I hope others will find that I have gained considerably by this sea-adventure.—I am your indebted and endeared brother, N. Heywood.

His disorders growing thus upon him, gradually weakened his frame, and took out the pins and pulled

down the stakes of his frail tabernacle; he wore away insensibly; his friends seeing he had strength to walk, did not apprehend his end so near, as indeed it proved. On Thursday, December 13, 1677, they perceived him to alter, and grow something worse than he had been, not so much in the violence of pain, as in the decay of spirits, and falling into drowsiness and slumbering; that very day, he said with tears running down his face, that he could willingly die if it were the next hour, but for the good of the church, and his poor wife and children, and with them he could be content to live, were it in prison. That night being ready to go to bed, he sat down in his chair and looking up towards heaven, moved his eyes very much, his wife asked him how he did, but he could not answer, as she supposed, but soon after he said he would go to bed, he fell into a similar trance, and lay for a while speechless; being better, he looked about him, and saw them weeping, and said, if you knew Christ better, this carnal affection would cease, and natural affection would be sanctified, and run in a spiritual channel: oh! learn to know Christ more; for my own part, I have preached Christ all my life, and, I bless God, with good success. It is common with many now-a-days, to have mean and low thoughts of Christ and his imputed righteousness, but if I had twenty lives to live, I would spend them all in that work.

On Friday, a kinsman who had come from London visited him, but he was so weak and listless, that he was very unfit for discourse; and indeed at the best, he was sparing in conversation; he used to speak little, but what he did speak was very pithy, pertinent, and sententious.

On Saturday night, Mr. Starkey, a reverend and pious minister, visited him; he asked him, whether it

was any trouble to him that he did not conform? He answered, "No, it is a great comfort to me:" this he spake with much cheerfulness, adding more words to evidence his satisfaction, in what he had done and suffered: Mr. Starkey asked him, what promises he could now rely upon, or what scripture passages supported him? He answered, "For me to live is Christ, and to die is gain,"—"Christ hath loved me, and given himself for me."* He was frequently repeating those words, "Come, Lord Jesus, come quickly."

About four hours before he died, being asked how he did? he answered, "very well." The last words he was heard to utter, were, "Come away, Lord, come, come;" and so he breathed out his blessed soul, on the Lord's day morning, Dec. 16, 1677, about nine o'clock: thus God made the day of his hard labour, the day of his entrance into his eternal rest.

And it is worthy of observation, that God hath taken off many eminent ministers, and excellent Christians from the stage of this world, near or upon that day. This holy day of heavenly rest hath commenced with them the everlasting day of rest in heaven. Christ's resurrection day hath been their ascension day. They parted with jarring music on earth to mingle with the celestial choir above. Our brother departed, though not very tuneable in his voice, often made melody in his heart below; now the high praises of God are sounded by him, and at the great day, soul and body shall make a melodious concert in blessed harmony.

And now this holy, learned, and industrious man of of God is advanced above guilt, corruption, temptation, and persecution, pains of body, fears of spirit, disturbances in God's worship, imprisonments, confis-

* Phil. i. 21. Gal. ii. 20.

cations, banishments. Oh, what a blessed state have those above taken possession of; happy souls! that are safely lodged in the arms of their dear Redeemer. It were worth while to stand still, and take a view of the spirits made perfect in the other world.*

Let us glance a little on their privative and positive happiness, described Rev. xxii. 3—5. 1. *There shall be no more curse:* that is, no more effects of God's displeasure upon man for Adam's sin, nor causeless curse by man's unjust censures. 2. *But the throne of God and the Lamb shall be in it:* this is the beatific vision, which secures souls from sin and suffering, and who dare presume to arrest or annoy the king's favourites in his presence? 3. *And his servants shall serve him:* whether devils or men will or not, these blessed attendants on the King of glory, shall never be interrupted in their delightful service. 4. *And they shall see his face:* that is, they shall not behold him in a glass darkly, as now they see God in ordinances, but then face to face, yea, they shall see him as he is, (which is a riddle to us here below,) immediately though not comprehensively. 5. *And his name shall be in their foreheads:* that is, they shall openly profess whose they are, and to whom they belong, as distinguished visibly from wicked men and hypocrites. They shall no more skulk in corners, or be thrust out of public places, but shall openly avow their Master. 6. *And there shall be no night there:* no works of darkness to lament or conflict with, no beasts of prey to creep forth and worry the saints, no secret plots against them, no ignorance amongst christian societies to create differences, jealousies, and animosities. 7. *They need no candle, neither light of the sun:* no need of ordinances, such as are used and useful here

* Heb. xii. 23.

below; preachers shall study or preach no more, people need not hear sermons; neither preachers nor hearers shall stand in need of seals, the substance is present, shadows flee away. 8. *The Lord God giveth them light:* their enjoyment of God is immediate, uninterrupted and satisfying, in his light they see light; as the object will be clearer to be seen, so their eyes will be perfectly illuminated to behold him. 9. *And they shall reign:* though his servants shall serve him, yet it shall be no troublesome bondage, but a liberty and dominion; they shall sit with Christ in his throne as assessors, judge the world, and (it may be) judge their judges, approving the righteous sentence of their royal Master, the blessed Jesus, King of kings, and Lord of lords.* And if all this be meant of some glorious state of the church on earth, (as some will needs have it) yet, that is but a faint resemblance of a more happy state in heaven. And further, for the duration of it, it is added:—10. And they shall reign *for ever and ever:* earthly monarchs are but short-lived, kingdoms have their periods, but kings are of shorter continuance; of Christ's kingdom there is no end, and the reign of his subjects runs parallel with the life of God, and line of eternity. O blessed souls! O happy saints! that shall for ever be with the Lord: and here we leave the soul of our dear brother, singing triumphantly the song of Moses and the Lamb on the heights of Zion, whilst we poor mortals are glad if we can only sing the song of degrees.

As for the solemn interment of that casket, once the receptacle, now the relict of a precious pearl; it was judged meet that the solemnity should be put off till Wednesday, Dec. 19, 1677; that distant friends might have seasonable notice; and on that day Mr. Starkey,

* Rev. iii. 21. 1 Cor. vi. 2.

a Nonconformist minister, preached an excellent sermon in the parish church at Ormskirk, (no man forbidding him; nay, all that were any way concerned, consenting) on Col. iii. 4, "When Christ, who is our life, shall appear, then shall ye also appear with him in glory." There was a vast confluence of all descriptions of people at his funeral, great lamentation was made, and many signal demonstrations of universal love and respect he had, from the whole country; his body was laid in the chancel, in a burying place, which belongs to the ancient family of the Stanleys of Bickerstaff, knights and baronets; it was with their free consent and desire. The reverend minister that preached, after he had judiciously, learnedly, and profitably handled his text, gave a short but full account of the deceased, in his several capacities, as minister, husband, father, friend, and especially Godwards as a Christian; and the hearers in accordance with his discourse, gave testimony to the truth of what was spoken, while they discovered the sense they entertained of their irreparable loss. All the people of the town, in their different circumstances, doing him honour in their peculiar way: Mr. Constable, the chief officer in the town, of considerable authority, carried the staff, (like a mace) before the corpse, and the rest walked in due and decent order.

Now, although this was insignificant to the dead, and not much edifying to the living; yet decent burials have always amongst civilized nations been considered incumbent on the living, and an honour to the dead; and there is a special remembrance of this in scripture; for it is said of Hezekiah, that all Judah, and the inhabitants of Jerusalem, did him honour at his death. On the contrary, it is recorded as a perpetual disgrace to Jehoram, the wicked son of good Jehoshaphat, that he

departed without being desired; and of another wicked son of a good king, Jehoiakim, the son of Josiah, it is said, they shall not lament for him, saying, "Ah my brother;" but he shall be "buried with the burial of an ass, drawn and cast forth beyond the gates of Jerusalem."* But this good man honoured God whilst living, and God honoured him at his death; and advanced his soul to better, and eternal honour.

Mr. Heywood went to his grave in peace, after all his violent tossings upon the tempestuous sea of this world; he died in the forty-fourth year of his age, having lived long in a little time; and I find several excellent men taken out of the world about that age. So among the German divines, Strigelius died forty-four years of age, and six months; Flinschpach, forty-four; Simlerus died in his forty-fifth year; so we find Erpenius died at forty years of age; Mr. Robert Rollock died in the forty-third year of his age; the famous Dr. Whitaker in his forty-seventh; but to mention no more, our celebrated Mr. William Perkins lived but forty-four years.

And indeed we have frequently observed, that laborious ministers are short-lived; some are of weak constitutions, and spend their lungs with speaking; or by a sedentary life contract diseases, or are afflicted by the untowardness of their people; or God in judgment takes them away as a punishment to a wicked world; however, like a candle, they spend themselves to give light to others. Many gracious young men are very zealous, and make haste with their work; they get it quickly despatched out of their hands, and go to bed betimes; and God is not willing to be too long without having them in his immediate presence. Oh how many fine promising plants have been plucked

* 2 Chron. xxxii. 33. xxi. 20 Jer. xxii. 18, 19.

up of late years, heavy laden with choice fruits; whilst some old withered trees, barren and fruitless, still stand cumbering the ground! But the sovereign Jehovah knows what is best, and does all things well.

A little while before Mr. Heywood died, he said to a friend, "I think this turning out of our licensed places will cost Mr. Yates and myself our lives. Oh this goes heavily! our casting out of our great places was not so much as casting us out of our little places;" and indeed Mr. Yates of Warrington died shortly after.

Having thus nakedly given a brief account of Mr. Heywood's birth, life, employment, and death, and what is worthy of remark on these; I shall select some features of his character, pleasing to trace, and imitable by his surviving brethren, friends, and hearers: for the memory of the just is blessed. Possibly generations yet to come may reap benefit by what they find recorded of him; and I dare appeal to the God of truth, who searcheth the heart, that the description I shall give of him is true, which I have by personal knowledge, or creditable testimony.

1. As to his figure, physiognomy, and constitution, which is the case, or shell, that was engaging enough, no part lacking, crooked or deformed; tall and straight, with dark curled hair; not corpulent nor very thin, yet stouter in his body than might be supposed from his face; of a healthful constitution, after he was past his childhood; which might have continued long, had not the vessel been shattered by impetuous dashings, inflamed with the love of God and zeal for souls, which made inroads upon his frame faster than nature could keep pace; and this over-driving took off the chariot wheels; for all agreed, that his excessive pains laid the foundation of those diseases, which at last wasted his spirits. He was an excellent footman, and could walk

both fast and far, and in his last disorder walked much, and found most ease in that exercise; though when he went beyond his strength, it cost him dear. In his best health he was subject to extraordinary perspiration, especially in his preaching; and perhaps that perspiration was some advantage to him; but when he could not exert himself to produce that effect, and thereby to cause the acrid humours to evaporate, they might settle, and occasion his acute diseases, or otherwise when in a state of perspiration he might be prejudiced by cooling too rapidly. Once old Mr. Woods and he preached in a chapel on a hot summer's day, the number of people was too great to come within hearing; Mr. Heywood having preached first, Mr. Woods withdrew the large assembly, from that citadel in which they were cooped up, into the champaign of a fair large field, where that excellent, solid, laborious man of God preached under a shady tree; Mr. Heywood sitting in a chair, got an extreme cold, which made him suffer much afterwards.

2. With respect to his disposition, he was naturally choleric, being of a sanguine complexion; but such was the predominance of grace, that it did very little appear in him, being regulated and rectified by that sovereign corrective the fear of God; which turned his natural disposition into a spiritual channel, and gave it a due bias to move God-wards. He was much under the influence of tender affections, where reason discovered the amiableness of the object. In his younger days he was judged to be inclined to melancholy, sitting sometimes silent, and poring on something; and so he was in his last distemper. Yet at times he was very cheerful and facetious, throwing out harmless jests with much advantage, for his own and his friends' amusement; and this, (with recreating himself with his chil-

dren) was all the recreation that he used for many years. He was indeed very witty and ingenious, when he slacked the strings and unbent himself a little, which was very rarely; his mind being ordinarily intent upon more important things in his study, or soul concerns.

3. As to his entrance into the ministry, and his judgment in ecclesiastical points, he was (according to his education) a strict Presbyterian, avoiding both the extremes of prelatical tyranny on the one hand, and congregational democracy on the other. Upon his first settling at Ormskirk, he presently applied himself to the ministers of the class in that division where God had cast his lot; and after probation and approbation of his ministerial abilities, learning, and fitness for the pastoral office at that place, and after the consent of the people had been expressed, he was solemnly set apart by fasting and prayer, and imposition of hands, to the work of the ministry, in a public congregation, to the great satisfaction of all that were concerned. The reverend, grave ministers that laid hands on him, were Mr. Thomas Johnson, of Halsall; Mr. Thompson, of Sefton; Mr. Edward Gee, of Eccleston; Mr. Bell, of Highton; all worthy, eminent men; and some others.

4. In reference to his ministerial labours, I shall add little to what hath been said. He willingly did spend, and was spent in the service of his Lord and Master; he prayed and wept, preached and laboured in public and private, in season and out of season; he constantly preached twice a-day, catechised, exhorting, admonishing with all long-suffering: he spent much time in solemn fasting and prayer with christian friends in his parish, and elsewhere. He loved and delighted in the communion of saints, so that those few Christians, with

whom he had been accustomed to hold intercourse, mournfully bewail the loss of him as their pastor and leader, their prompter to, and supporter in their spiritual exercises. His heart was set to do good unto all, but his delight was in God's children. He refused not to come and visit the poorest and most wicked, that either sent for him, or that he judged would make him welcome, or where he had any hopes of doing good. He was diligent in visiting the sick, and took great pains with the ignorant, procuring catechisms for them that were willing to learn, instructing them, and using ingenious artifices to bring them into a love of religion, and engaging young people to learn.

5. He was exceedingly meek and patient, not only in bearing his bodily pains with an invincible spirit, but in enduring the affronts, reproaches, and various indignities that were offered him, with heroic cheerfulness; yea, he gloried in them as the afflictions of Christ. Notwithstanding all the forementioned opposition, yet, his spirit was so sweetly calmed, that none ever heard him revile or speak evil of the instruments, but many have heard him pray for them; it is true, his spirit was sometimes so disturbed, that he would dream of them, and mention them in his sleep; but still he bore a compassionate heart towards them, and would often bewail their condition. Though some of the townsmen and others, thought some prosecutions were malicious and unreasonable, not fit to be named, yet he freely forgave all as an offence against himself, and affectionately prayed for their repentance and the pardon of their sin against God; oft saying, "If this or that be the worse they can do, we shall shift well enough." He had in some considerable degree, learned that hard lesson our Lord teacheth, Matt. v. 44, "But I say unto you, love your enemies, bless them that

curse you, do good to them that hate you, and pray for them which despitefully use you and persecute you." This, this is a great height of true christianity, to do good, and endure evil; bear our cross, and follow Christ with patience and self-denial.

6. He was very faithful to his friends, and looked upon the bond of friendship as sacred, and not to be violated, whether in the business of counselling, or keeping secrets, or preserving and discharging the trust reposed in him; nor was this unimportant, or from persons inconsiderable. He would put himself to much cost, many troubles, and some inconveniences, rather than seem by negligence to falsify his word, or in any respect to fail of his duty; as many instances might prove. It was conscience of his duty towards God, that awed his spirit in those cases, wherein no mortal could detect or punish him for neglect. He was extremely obliging in his deportment, very engaging in his discourse among those with whom he could be free, instructing the ignorant, indulging the weak, by words or carriage manifesting his dislike of sin, but encouraging those that discovered any spark of true piety, however they might differ from him in some things; for he was of a catholic spirit.

7. He was very humble and self-denying, which was the fine ornament of all his other graces and eminent qualifications; this indeed was his master-piece, he had always very mean thoughts of himself and his own undertakings, disrelishing others' commendations of him; which indeed were to him *instar fulminis*, like a thunderbolt, as a German divine said of men's praises; yea, he would even cover his face with shame, and modestly blush, when any spoke well of him; his maxim was rather to be, than seem good; not affecting triumphs (as Pompey did) but approving his

heart to God; being more pleased with God's gracious acceptance, and the consciousness of his own integrity, than aspiring at the favour of the great or the applause of the vulgar; though scarcely any had such general approbation or flocking after them; yet his spirit was not elated or lifted therewith. In him was verified that observation, "That honour is like a shadow, which being pursued, flies away; but the more a man flies from it, the more it follows him." He could never be persuaded to print any of his productions, though he was often solicited to do this; for he judged nothing that he did worthy of being exposed to public view; he so far disliked the humour of ostentation, that he abstained from doing that which might have been profitable to the church. Though his sermons were elaborate and judicious, yet they were full of pathos, which he desired to be conveyed only to the ears and hearts of his hearers. His modesty even locked up his lips in company, unless he had a just call to speak; and he spoke with great discretion, and as much humility and submission to better judgments, but always with great advantage to his hearers. He was mild in his censure, and spoke well of the humble and well-meaning undertakings of others; he commended all who in any thing were praiseworthy, and envied them not that honour which was due to them.

8. He was much and mighty in prayer; he had an excellent gift in confessing sin, petitioning for mercy, and thankfulness to God for mercies received. He did with applicable and proper scripture expressions wrestle with God in prayer: oh! how frequently and fervently did he pour out his supplications before the Lord with sighs and tears and throbbings of heart. He had a large measure of the spirit of adoption, and was usually copious in the duty of prayer, especially upon extra-

ordinary occasions. Though he had long used to go to God alone, yet in his last sickness he was more constant in closet prayer. His wife and children coming to him, have often found him upon his knees: and the Lord gave him many signal impressions upon his spirit, and remarkable returns of his prayers. Many years ago, when his wife was dangerously sick at Godley, in Yorkshire, nigh to death, he told her she must not die at that time; she demanded of him, why he thought so? He answered, "because my heart is much enlarged in prayer to beg for thy life;" accordingly God raised her up at that period. And he hath oft taken notice of the frame of his spirit in prayer for sick persons; and hath formed his opinions of the issue from his straitness, or his enlargedness, and it hath often proved according to his presages.

9. He had a great measure of faith, both as to soul concerns, and temporal affairs. As to the former, God hath helped him in spiritual troubles to trust him in the way of a promise, and at last elevated his faith into a *plerophory*, or full assurance. As to the latter, he was trained up in the life of faith many years; having a wife, and nine small children, being turned out of all, having nothing before hand, and knowing not in an ordinary rational way, where his subsistence must arise; all this put his faith hard to it: yet committing himself and his family into God's hand, he was wonderfully supplied, as if he had been fed with ravens, or like Israel in the wilderness. O man! great was thy faith! O Lord! great was thy bounty! It is true, he was often afraid of being chargeable with discontent and murmuring; but he summoned up his spirits, saying to his wife, "Let us pray and wait on God, he never failed us yet, come let us trust him;" this he spake with great alacrity; and he oft took

notice, that in extremities God sent a seasonable supply by unexpected means; help came in so strangely, that he resolved to set down punctually what he received, and of whom. He said once to a friend, "I cannot but wonder how God sends in money just as I need it, he drops it into my hand by sixpences and shillings most seasonably; and the review of these circumstances much strengthens my faith, and engages me to thankfulness." This course he had followed for above twelve years, and advised his friends to do the same. From multiplied providential interpositions he gathered great encouragement, he often wondered at the unaccountable provision God made for him and his.

10. He was of an amiable temper, much disposed to peace, both in sacred and civil things. He was not willing to fall out with any, and it was strange if any fell out with him, for he gave no just occasion at any time. Testimonies and instances might be produced wherein he complied to the utmost extent of what he judged lawful, to avoid giving any offence, and sometimes receded from his right for the sake of peace. It is true he was a man of contention, as the prophet Jeremiah was, but it was his grief and made him cry, Woe is me! And besides, it was rather passively than actively that he was so; men contended with him, rather than he with them, and it was in the matters of his God and conscience; and he was resolved to obey and please God rather than men. In this he was as a sturdy oak, in other matters, a bending ozier. If any time he was angry at others, yet anger did not ferment into malice, or long rest in his bosom; he sought reconciliation with them; and if any had taken offence at him, he sought to win them by conciliatory means and methods of kindness; yea, he was not only a peace-keeper, but a peace-maker to his power, recon-

ciling neighbours that were at variance; not by sitting with them in the alehouse, (as the manner of some is) but by christian advice, counsel, and prayers, healing differences in God's way. He preached an excellent sermon upon mutual love, from Ephes. v. 2, an excellent duty, having an excellent pattern. In the management of this subject he discovered an admirable spirit, full of gentleness, sobriety, and moderation; he sought to calm men's minds, and lay the the storm of passion, that the word might take place, for "the fruit of righteousness is sown in peace of them that make peace," James iii. 18.

11. But though he was of a peaceable spirit, condescending to any thing lawful for the sake of peace, yet not so facile, flexible, and wire-like as to be drawn a hair's breadth from truth, or well-fixed principles; he was *magnes et adamas*, an attractive loadstone, yet an impenetrable adamant in the cause of God. He well understood his own latitude, and as he would not groundlessly withdraw under the influence of a volatile spirit, so he would not be led aside into sin to please a friend, or prostitute his conscience to men's fancies. Others might perhaps judge it a needless preciseness, perverseness, or obstinacy; but he could not turn his sails to their wind, or dance after their pipes, though he had many temptations on all hands from great and small; but he was of blessed Paul's mind and practice, Gal. ii. 5, "To whom we gave place by subjection, no not for an hour; that the truth of the gospel might continue with you." And if he died not a martyr for, yet a confessor of, and witness to, the truths that concern Christ's kingly office over his church, and especially his right to appoint what laws, order, officers, and ordinances he pleaseth, as one of his last sermons abundantly demonstrates: he was faithful unto death,

and now receives a crown of life. It might be said of this man of God, as was said of Erasmus Sarcerius: "Lucebat in hoc viro commemorabilis gravitas et constantia, non minas, non exilia, non ullam ullius hominis potentiam aut vim pertimescebat. Pene dixerim, solem facilius de cursu dimoveri potuisse, quam Erasmum a veritatis professione.*—*Melch. Ad. Vit. Sarc. p.* 326.

12. He made daily great proficiency in learning, grace, and holiness; having laid a low foundation, he built a stately, visible superstructure. It might be said of him as the apostle said of the Thessalonians, "That his faith did grow exceedingly, and his love to Christians abounded."† The pearl grew too large for the shell; his head soared above the clouds, and his heart mounted heavenwards. And as he grew in faith, love, meekness, zeal for God, endearedness to souls; so above all, in humility, self-denial, and contempt of the world; as he travelled up and down to do good, so he travailed in birth over poor perishing sinners. Possibly some may think Mr. Heywood took too much upon him, and was too sedulous in his indefatigable labours, both in the face of danger, and to the hazard of his health; but as to the one, Calvin's apology was his, *Would you have me found idle when my Lord cometh?* As to the former, his proceedings and conduct were sanctioned by a like instance in the life of Olevian, who asked the people, Whether he must suspend, or supersede his preaching at that time for fear of danger? Or, whether they desired to hear him as formerly? All the people with hands lifted up, and loud voices cried out, *Imo hoc, imo hoc, et per Deum te oramus, ut pergas concionari.*‡ We

* There appeared in this man an admirable steadiness and constancy which dreaded neither threats nor exile, nor any power or violence of man. I may almost say, that the sun might more easily be diverted from his course, than Erasmus from a declaration of the truth. † 2 Thess. i. 3. ‡ Melch. Ad. Vit. Oliv. p. 600.

beseech thee to preach. Thus the necessities and importunity of the people extorted work from the subject of these memoirs; his heart was upon it, and being engaged, he regarded not any plausible arguments deduced from flesh and blood, or self-preservation. His last sermon preached at a friend's house in the parish, was a swan-like song, pithy and sententious, ardent and affectionate; so that as before, he had exceeded others, he then exceeded himself; as if he previously knew that it was the last. Thus his last was more than his first; and the nearer the centre, the quicker was his motion. He abounded in matter, as if he was at a loss for time for the remainder of his work, that he might despatch it all and be at rest.

13. He was very charitable to the poor, and such as were in real necessity. And though his small revenue, and constant charge, did somewhat bind his hands, yet he could not restrain his spirit; he drew out his soul to the hungry. And indeed true charity is seated rather in an expansive heart, than a liberal hand; the imprimis of a willing mind finds acceptance, when the items of alms run but shallow. And to his power, many will bear record; yea, beyond his power he was willing;* freely welcoming objects of pity, stirring up his hearers to free contributions, especially on behalf of the pious poor, whereby the bowels of many were refreshed by this brother. And hence it was, that as he had sowed bountifully, he did then, and much more doth now, reap bountifully; "For the liberal soul shall be made fat; and he that watereth, shall be watered also himself."†

14. He was a great admirer, and an able preacher of the glorious gospel design, especially in the giving of Christ. And indeed this he made his τὸ ἔργον, the

* 2 Cor. viii. 12, 3. † 2 Cor. ix. 6. Prov. xi. 25.

main scope of all his preaching. It is true, he did often preach law and terror to awaken men's consciences, and drive them out of themselves to Christ. He did often press duty in a circumspect, exact, and holy walking; and urged a spiritual, and diligent worshipping of God; but still demonstrating, that Christ is the end of the law for righteousness to every one that believeth.* It was his element, and most agreeable to his evangelical spirit to know and preach nothing but a crucified and glorified Redeemer. He enlarged much on the gospel mode of justifying a sinner, by the imputation of Christ's perfect righteousness through faith.† His active thoughts ran still upon this theme, sleeping, and waking; so that once, many years ago, he was heard in his dream to say, *there are vast heaps of free grace.* His heart was greatly enamoured with the love of God in sending Christ; as appeared to the satisfaction, profit, and wonder of many, from a sermon he preached the year in which he died, on Rom. v. 8. This was the proper sphere in which he moved; and few dived so deep into that unfathomable ocean of love which passeth knowledge, as he did.‡

15. He was a zealous defender of truth, and impugner of errors; he strenuously "contended for the faith once delivered to the saints."‖ He much delighted in the form of wholesome words, and loved not new coined phrases, which are apt to amuse men's minds, and instil into them poisonous principles. He loved and used sound speech that cannot be condemned, as well as sound orthodox truth; standing at an equal distance from Arminians on the one hand, and Antinomians on the other. He had a wonderful sagacity in discerning persons, things, and doctrines that swerved from, or agreed not with the scripture dialect. He

* Rom. x. 4. † 1 Cor. ii. 2. ‡ Eph. iii. 19. ‖ Jude, 3.

kept close to the analogy of faith; yet he was not against proficiency, or cautious extension of knowledge. He had well studied the Arminian controversy, and told some friends, that if the Lord should recover him, and lengthen out his life, he had a design to write something on that subject, which might, perhaps, have given further light in the controversy. For as his genius led him that way, so he had the advantage of many years' intimate converse with that aged and learned divine, Mr. Thos. Johnson, of Halsall, a man of great ability, and unwearied application to study, a non-such on those points; but he told Mr. Heywood his intimate friend, that it much repented him, because he had spent so much time in reading books, and studying controversies, which might have been more profitably employed in conversing with, and instructing his ignorant and worldly minded neighbours. Let ministers think of this, for one soul won to God by personal conference, will tend more to God's glory, and a minister's comfort, than a thousand notions obtained by reading. Howbeit, a due mixture of a contemplative and active life, must needs be the best.

16. He was exemplary in his relative connections. He was an obedient child, an exceedingly kind husband, an indulgent tender-hearted father, an affectionate master, a faithful friend. He maintained a paternal awe, authority, gravity, mixed with gentleness and lenity, and both with incredible prudence, so that those connected with him, had not occasion either to slight him, or to be discouraged by him. He instructed them with faithfulness; admonished them with tenderness; prayed for them with faith and fervency, and walked before them with a holy exemplariness and sincerity. As God had made him a Nathaniel, Godwards; so he was a Joshua, resolving that "he and his house should

serve the Lord."* It is a true maxim, that he who is not relatively good, is not really good; but he was faithful in the discharge of duty in every relation. He kept his children much at home, being very jealous lest they should meet with temptations abroad, which occasioned many cares and prayers about their disposal.

17. He attained to a considerable measure of assurance. Though he had walked in darkness, and saw no light in his first convictions; yet staying himself on the Lord his God, he at last shone upon his soul with the light of his countenance, and he walked many days through much darkness with the candle of God shining upon his head.† How frequently in prayer did he express his joy and gratitude for everlasting consolation and good hopes through grace relative to his own salvation! But the infinitely wise God, after he had enjoyed many delightful days, thought fit to withdraw his wonted religious enjoyments, and left him under some doubts and dissatisfaction. For, about two months before he died, one Lord's day, as he and his family were sitting together, he told his wife with tears in his eyes, that he had great trouble concerning his spiritual state, and some doubts about his condition, desiring her to pray for him. Yet the Lord dispelled those dark clouds, and in due time did graciously shine into his soul with the beams of his love. Thus God is a free agent, and doth not always entail comfort upon sincerity, but sometimes the best of God's children suffer eclipses: such sad days, however, lead to self-searching and deeper humiliation, and such shakings tend to firmer establishment; yea, such discouragements are often attended with more enlargement, such dark spots in a Christian's evidences produce

* Josh. xxiv. 15. † Isa. l. 10. Job xxix. 3.

more clearing of them up. God hereby hath more glory, and heaven will be sweeter.

18. He had a strong persuasion of God's care of his numerous family, both in point of education and provision. As God had mercifully looked after them in his lifetime, so he conceived great hopes of their supply after his decease. It is true, he had some temptations, and sad thoughts of heart concerning them; but at last faith gained the victory over unbelief, and having left his mournful partner with her better husband, and his fatherless children with their heavenly parent, he was tranquil, and these thoughts did not prevent his cordial welcome of his dearest Lord, when he summoned him by death. He had by faith and prayer devolved the care of them upon the Lord, and he freely acquiesced in his good providence about himself and them. On Tuesday before he died, getting into his bed, his breath being very short, his wife broke out into sore weeping; to whom he said, "Be not troubled, God will provide necessaries for thee and thy posterity for ever:" which brings to mind the anecdote of Bucer, who dying, stretched out his hand, with his eyes lift up to heaven, saying, *Ille, ille regit et moderatur omnia*—"He, he alone rules and governs all things:" and the event in the present instance hath abundantly answered the good man's prediction and expectation.

19. It is remarkable that he had his desire in a leisurely, lingering death. He had often expressed his willingness (if that were God's will) that death might come on gradually, and not surprize him; he even prayed that he might be long in his sickness, and also that he might be sensible to the last: the Lord condescended to hear him in both these things. He had been long habitually prepared, but he desired to be actually ready: for it is an important concern to die

and go into another world, a world of spirits. This good man had frequent warnings, and continued strong in his intellect all the time of his illness. On Friday night, his brother-in-law coming to him, asked him if he had made his will; he answered, no: he desired to have his son Nathaniel at home when he did that. But he perceiving that he was weakening apace, and that his time would not be long, being urged again, he willingly consented, and sent for a clerk, and despatched that worldly concern the same night; then he was in perfect composedness of mind, there being but one night more intervening before his death.

20. As he was highly qualified with personal accomplishments, christian graces, and ministerial abilities, so God gave him favour in the sight of all with whom he had intercourse. It is true, he had adversaries, but it was for the matters of his God, wherein his principles led him to act differently from them; yet even those commended him for his abilities and preaching. At death, some that had been bitter enemies to him, were well reconciled to him; one instance was very remarkable, a Mr. Brownlow, an old gentleman, that lived in the town, had conceived a bitter grudge against Mr. Heywood, after king Charles's return, because he would not read the common prayer; but on his death-bed he sent for Mr. Heywood, and entreated him to go to prayer with him; and when Mr. A. the vicar, would have come to read the common prayer, he would not suffer him; but would not part with Mr. Heywood while he lived.

Thus I have given a brief narrative of what was memorable in this holy man of God, and imitable by us; I may say to every one, "Go thou and do likewise." Let Christians pray that God would send forth

many such labourers into his harvest and succeed their labours, and let them learn to improve such advantages, that they may give a good account of them at last.

A Letter sent by Mr. Nathaniel Heywood to a Christian Friend, on the Death of his pious Wife.

Dear Friend, May 1st, 1675.

I received yours of Jan. 30th, long since, and would have answered it much sooner, but that I had some intentions, and was not without hopes, of accomplishing them, not by writing, but by coming to you at your appointed time in March last; but being prevented, and now having such pains of body, through my old disorder, which makes me very incapable of riding far, that I am not certain of seeing you this summer, though I propose and shall endeavour after it; I can now forbear writing no longer, nor can I further delay that which I account my duty, till I come over; I give you hearty thanks for your kind and valuable letter, whereby I was much refreshed in those my late troubles, which indeed were many and heavy; yet in such a cause, and for such a Master did I suffer, that I must needs say, they were light and easy. Oh! that God may have the glory, and others be encouraged! As sufferings for Christ did abound, so consolations abounded by Christ. Let the world know, that suffering for Christ is the very element in which love liveth and exerciseth itself and his choicest cordials are reserved for such a time. I was in a great measure a stranger to the comforts and sweetness of

christianity, till I was singled out to bear the cross; but am now well satisfied, that what I have suffered and still do suffer for, is Christ's truth; because he was pleased to seal my sufferings with the sweet sense and experience of unspeakable joy and peace; and I know he will not put his seal to a blank paper, nor will he be a witness to a falsehood. Had not some great persons interposed by their interest and authority, I had certainly gone to prison at that time when I was taken by soldiers: and at the sessions shortly after, had not God raised up other friends, (some of them Justices) to frustrate the purpose and design of my cruel enemies, who would have sent me six months to prison the sessions before, for living within five miles of this town; yea, would have convicted me among recusants, for not coming to this church—my lot would have been imprisonment; but it pleased God by a special providence, to prevent that also. But, alas! all these troubles are nothing to what I am now mourning under, the loss of public liberty; to have a closed mouth, dumb and silent sabbaths; to be cast out of the vineyard as a dry and withered branch, and to be laid aside as a broken vessel, in which there is no pleasure—is a sore burden which I know not how to bear, my heart bleeds under it as giving a sting and edge to my other troubles and afflictions. This exercise of my ministry, next to Christ, is dearer to me than any thing in the world. It was my heaven, till I reach home, even to spend this life in gathering souls to Christ; but I must lay even that down at Christ's feet, and be dumb and silent before the Lord, because he has done it who can do no wrong, and whose judgments are past finding out. I am sure I have reason to conclude with the prophet, "I will bear the indignation of the Lord, because I have sinned against him."

Dear Brother,

I hear that it hath pleased God to remove from you the desire of your eyes, and my dear friend. I am heartily sorry for that sore breach in your family, and desire to suffer with you in the loss of your loving and good wife, now gone before (according to the method and order he hath appointed, whose understanding is infinite) whither you are shortly to follow. He that made yesterday to go before this day, and the former generation in birth and life to have been before this generation, and hath made some flowers to grow, and to wither, and to die in May, and others in June—cannot be challenged in the order he observes with us, that one bury another. You know who said, " I was dumb and opened not my mouth, because thou, Lord, didst it." All things are ordered in wisdom and judgment by your Father; at whose feet your own soul and your heaven lieth, and so the days of your wife. You had her as long as your lease lasted, and seeing her term was come, and your lease run out, you can no more justly quarrel with the great Sovereign for taking his own at his just term-day, than a poor farmer can complain that his master takes a portion of his own land to himself when the lease is expired. And is not he an ill debtor who payeth that which he hath borrowed, with a grudge? Certainly the long loan of such a good wife, an heir of grace, and member of Christ, (as verily I believe) deserveth thanks rather than grief and murmuring, when he calleth back his own. I believe you would judge them to be but unthankful neighbours, who would pay you back a sum of money after this manner. I know you would be sorry either to be or to be esteemed any thing like an atheist; and yet not I, but the apostle (1 Thess. iv. 13.) thinks those to be hopeless atheists, who mourn exces-

sively for the dead. But this is not a charge on my part; some jealousy I have, lest you be overmuch grieved for the loss of such a help-meet; but you have reason to rejoice, that when a part of you is on earth, another part of you is glorified in heaven, sleeping in the bosom of the Almighty: follow her, but envy her not. For indeed it is self-love in us that maketh us mourn for them that die in the Lord; because *for them* we cannot mourn, since they are never happy till they be dead, therefore we mourn *for our own private loss.* Take heed then, that in pretending your affection in mourning for your wife, you act out of self-affection; consider what the Lord is doing in it; she is plucked out of the fire, and resteth from her labours; and the Lord in that is trying you, and casting you into the fire, beholding your faith and patience, and delighting to see you in the burning bush and not consumed; but sending Satan away frustrate of his design. The Lord is laying in one scale of the balance, your making conscience of submission to his gracious will; and in the other, your affection for your wife: which of the two will you then make to preponderate? I wish you may come out of the Lord's school wiser and more experienced in the ways of God. It is our happiness that when Christ openeth a vein, he taketh nothing but ill blood from his sick patients; and when he puts them into the furnace of affliction (and stands by the melting of the metal) he takes away the dross and scum that remained in nature. But it is a sad thing when the rod is cursed, that never fruit shall grow on it; and except Christ's dew fall down with his summer sunshine, and his grace follow afflictions, to make them to bring forth fruit unto God, they are so be-withered to us, that our bad ground (rank and fertile enough for briars) produceth a crop of noisome weeds.

I am persuaded your losses, cares, sicknesses, &c. are but summer showers that will wet your garments for an hour or two, and the sun of the new Jerusalem shall quickly dry your wet clothes, especially since the rain of affliction cannot stain the image of God, nor cause grace to cast its colour. Oh! learn heavenly wisdom, self-denial, and mortification by this sad loss. I know it is not for nothing, (except you deny God to be wise in all that he doth) that you have lost your partner on the earth. It may be, there hath been too little of your heart and love in heaven; and therefore the jealousy of Christ hath done this; it is a mercy that he contendeth with you; it may be, he hath either been out of his place, or in a place inferior to his worth. O let Christ have the room of you wife; she hath now no need of you, or your love; she enjoyeth as much of the love of Christ as her heart can be capable of. I know it is a dear bought experience to teach you to undervalue the creature; yet it is not too dear if Christ think so. Let me entreat you to consider one thing more (which hath helped me in such like cases more than once,) and I have done: you are hasting after your wife, and shall shortly be with her; it is but a little while, a few days longer, and you must follow her into eternity. By her death take occasion to love the world less, out of which she was taken, and heaven more, whither she is gone before you, and where you shall for ever enjoy her society, and be with Christ, which is best of all. If the place she hath left were any other than a prison of sin, and the home she is gone to were any other than a palace of glory, your grief would be the more rational. But, I hope, your faith in the resurrection of the dead in Christ to glory and immortality, will lead you to dry up your tears, and suspend your longing for her, till

the morning of that day, when the Archangel shall descend with a shout, to gather all his prisoners out of their graves up to himself in heaven.—Dear love to, and fervent prayers for, you and your children.

I am,

Your most affectionate,

And sympathizing Friend,

NATH. HEYWOOD.

PEDIGREE OF THE HEYWOOD FAMILY,

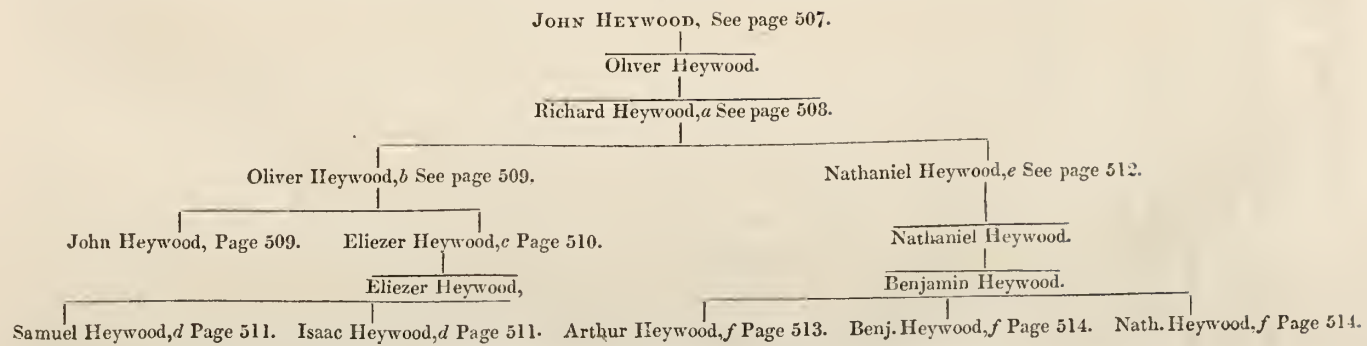
FROM THE TIME OF EDWARD THE SIXTH, TO THE YEAR MDCCCXXVI.

A

GENERAL TABULAR VIEW

OF THE

PRINCIPAL BRANCHES OF THE FAMILY.


John Heywood, See page 507.
Oliver Heywood.
Richard Heywood, a See page 508.
Oliver Heywood, b See page 509.
Nathaniel Heywood, e See page 512.
John Heywood, Page 509.
Eliezer Heywood, c Page 510.
Nathaniel Heywood.
Eliezer Heywood,
Benjamin Heywood.
Samuel Heywood, d Page 511.
Isaac Heywood, d Page 511.
Arthur Heywood, f Page 513.
Benj. Heywood, f Page 514.
Nath. Heywood. f Page 514.

The Genealogy given in Detail, to which Referenees are made in the preceding Epitome.

JOHN HEYWOOD, of Heywood Mill, Waterside, in the parish of Bolton-le-Moors, living there in the time of Edward VI. = —— daughter of —— Seddon of Prestalee.

Oliver Heywood, of Little Lever, in the parish of Bolton-le-Moors, where he had a small estate. He lived to about the age of 70 years, and died in or about 1628. = Alice, daughter of —— Hulton of Breightmet, in the parish of Bolton; sister to Adam Hulton of that place. Wm. Hulton, of Northampton, V.D.M. Nath. Hulton of Newington Green, and Judith wife of Heaward, were children of the said Adam Hulton.

- Rd. Heywood.*a*
- John Heywood, born 1592, died young.
- Ths. Heywood died young, Feb. 20th, 1600.
- Isabella, 1st wife, sister of Roger Barlow; married 1627; died, *sine pueris*, 1667.
- John Heywood, of Chapel-house Little Lever; died July 30, 1680, aged 77; buried at Bolton. = Joan, 2d wife, sister of James Mason, died Dec. 13, 1691.
- James Horrocks of ——, in the parish of Dean, 2d husband.
- Mary Heywood, born Ap. 1601, & died unmarried in 1635.

- John Heywood, born Dec. 22, 1678; baptized 24th: his father being 75 and his mother 34 years of age.
- Nathaniel Heywood, baptized June 22, 1680; died young, buried at Bolton.

Alice Critchlaw, only daughter of —— Critchlaw of Longworth, in the parish of Bolton. She had 4 brothers. The eldest, Wm. Critchlaw, died of wounds received at Wigan in the Civil Wars. The names of the 2d and 3d were Francis & Hugh. The youngest, Rph. Critchlaw, Esq. acquired a fortune in trade and became a justice of the peace. She was the first wife of Richard Heywood; born in 1593; marrd. in 1615; died at her son's house at Northowram, April 22, 1657; and was buried in Holdsworth's chapel, south side of Halifax church.

= Richard Heywood *a* of Little Lever, yeoman; died March 1, 1676, aged 81; buried at Bolton.

= Margaret, 2d wife, daughter of —— Brereton; died Dec. 8, 1697; buried at Bolton.

Thomas Heywood of Virginia. He went thither with Capt. Langden in 1679.

Nathan Heywood. Died at Little Lever, *sine pueris*, 1685.

John Heywood, died in his infancy, and was buried at Bolton.

Thos. Crompton, of Breightmet, died April 26th, 1673.

= Hannah Heywood, married in 1643; had 14 children, but she only left 4 living. She died Dec. 4, 1673.

Nicholas Hunt, of Horwich; he re-married, and died 1673, leaving by his 2nd wife, 6 sons and 1 daughter.

= Mary Heywood; died 1648, leaving only 1 daughter, who married Jas. Worsley of Rivington.

John Heywood, of ——, eldest surviving son; went to the West Indies, and died at Barbadoes in Sept. 1664, aged about 40.

= Mary Ramsbotham, daughter-in-law to —— Ingham of Ribchester, V.D.M. died April 23, 1672.

List of Rich. Heywood's children continued.

Wm. Whitehead of Bent-hall, in Lothers-dale in Craven; died in Nov. 15, 1671.

= Esth. Heywood, died Oct. 1695, in the 68th year of her age, leaving several children.

Oliver *b*

Samuel Bradley of Ainsworth, died on Nov. 2, 1669.

= Alice Heywood, died May the 9th, 1677; had six children.

Nathaniel *c*

Josiah Heywood, youngest son, died in Barbadoes without issue, in 1664, aged 26,

Richard Heywood, of ——, only surviving son and heir; died March 25, 1675, aged about 24.

= Alice, daughter of Robt. Crompton of Darcey Lever.

Hannah Heywood, died in 1672, aged 13 years.

Oliver Heywood, died an infant a year old, in 1655.

Peter Rothwell, of Holcombe & of Darcey Lever, was buried at Bolton, July 14, 1719, aged 68.

= Mary Heywood, sister & co-heir to R. Heywood; married May 4, 1682; had 8 chil. & was buried at Bolton, April 29, 1728, aged 68.

James Lomax, of Little Lever.

= Esther Heywood, sister and co-heir of Richard Heywood; born in 1661, married Jan. 21, 1630, had 7 children.

John Heywood, only child, died an infant, June 1, 1675, 2 months after his father: he was the last male descendant of John Heywood, elder brother to Oliver and Nathaniel.

Elizabeth, 1st wife, daughter of John Angier, who was ejected from the living of Denton in Lancashire, by the Act of Uniformity, 1662; married April 25, 1655; died May 26, 1661, about 27 years of age.

= OLIVER HEYWOOD, of Coley and Northowram, in the parish of Halifax, V.D.M. the second surviving son. Born at Little Lever, March 1629; baptized at Bolton, the 15th; of Trinity Coll. Camb. B.A.; ordained minister at Bury Church, Aug. 4, 1652; curate of Coley chapel, whence he was ejected by the Uniformity Act, 1662. After having done and suffered much in the cause of Nonconformity, he died at his house at Northowram on the 4th of May, 1702, and was buried in Holdsworth's chapel, south side of Halifax church. His Will bears date, April 28, preceding.

= Abigail, 2d wife, daughter of Jas. Crompton of Breightmet, in the parish of Bolton; baptized Oct. 1, 1632; married June 27, 1667; Will dated Aug. 1, 1702; died *s. p.* 1707.

John Heywood, eldest son, born at Northowram, April 18, 1656; entered as a student for the ministry among the Nonconformists, at Mr. Frankland's academy at Natland, May 26, 1674; ordained Aug. 24, 1681; tutor to Thos. Westby, of Ravenfield, Esq. Nov. 18, 1684; minister at Rotherham, March 14, 1693, still residing at Ravenfield; removed thence to Pontefract, where he exercised his ministry many years, and died at Balifield, near Sheffield, and was buried at Hansworth, Sept. 6, 1704, aged 48.

= Elizabeth, daughter of —— Stacey of Sheffield, married at Darton, Oct. 2, 1694; died a widow, April 15, 1721.

Eliezer Heywood

Nathaniel Heywood, 3d and youngest son; born at Northowram, Aug. 7, 1659, and died there in his infancy.

Timothy Heywood, of Sheffield, apothecary; born Dec. 13, 1695; baptized by Mr. Tim. Jollie, of Sheffield, Jan. 1, 1696; died *s. p.* Sept. 25, 1718; and was buried at Hansworth, near Sheffield: had been married only six days.

= Hannah, daughter of —— ; she had her thirds on the Lever Estate.

= William Marsden, of Sheffield, attorney-at-law, 2nd husband.

Elizabeth Heywood, died unmarried Mar. 21, 1718, aged 22.

Bridget Heywood.

ELIEZER HEYWOOD, *c* 2d son,= Helen, daughter of John Rotherham, of Dronfield, Gent. married at Hansworth, Jan. 1, 1700; died 1713.

born at Northowram, April 18, 1657; entered as a student for the minstry at Mr. Frankland's academy, along with his brother John, May 26, 1674; ordained at Attercliffe, April 21, 1687; minister at Walling-Wells, 1691; died minister of Dronfield, in Derbyshire, May 20, 1730, and lies buried in Dronfield church.

1 2 3 7 4 5 6 8

Oliver Heywood, born at Dronfield, 8th March, baptized 14th, died 16th, 1701.

Bridget Heywood, born 7th of June 1702, baptiz. by Mr. Prime, 16th; died 5 weeks before her mother, in her 11th year.

Isaac Wylde,= Nottingham, apothecary — brother to Dr. Wylde, master of the grammar school in that town, died May, 1760.

Elizabeth Heywood, born at Carlton, July 15, 1703; baptized by Mr. Denton; died Aug. 31, 1758; had 8 children.

Eliezer Heywood, V.D.M. only surviving son and heir; born at Dronfield, Oct. 8, 1710; was many years minister at Mansfield, in Nottinghamshire; and died there July 22, 1783.

=Jane, daughter of Sam. Shaw, of Dronfield and Mansfield, V.D.M. born at Darley, Jan. 15, 1730; married Nov. 6, 1751.

John Heywood, born at Carlton, Sept. 2, 1704; baptized by Mr. Prime; died an infant.

Helen Heywood, born 1707, died in her infancy.

Hannah Heywood, born 1708; died unmarried in 1740.

Oliver Heywood, born 1711, died in 1712.

SAML. HEYWOOD, *d*

Eliezer Heywood, 2d son, born June 10, 1756; baptized by Dr. S. Eaton, 26th; settled in North America.

Mary Heywood, born August 14, 1758; baptized by Dr. Eaton, Sept. 13; living unmarried at Mansfield, 1817.

Bridget Heywood, born Aug. 1, 1760; baptized by Dr. Eaton, Sept. 3; died unmarried, May 10, 1781.

Charlotte Heywood, born May 6, 1762; baptized June 30, by Dr. Eaton; living unmarried at Mansfield, 1817.

William Paulson,= of Mansfield, surgeon.

=Jane Heywood, born 11th of July, 1765; baptized by Dr. Eaton, Aug. 14; married 1803; living 1817.

ISAAC HEYWOOD *d*

William Heywood Paulson, eldest son, born June 1, 1805; baptized by Mr. Bull, August 9th.

Eliezer Paulson, born Nov. 8, 1806; baptized by Mr. Bull, Dec. 12.

Samuel Heywood, *d* of Nottingham, Esq. attorney-at-law and town-clerk of that borough; born Feb. 7, 1755; baptized by Dr. S. Eaton, Mar. 4; died July 25, 1789. = Ann, daughter of Jn. Smith, mayor of Newark, 1763, born Dec. 7, 1752; married June 12, 1780; died a widow at her son-in-law's, Rev. R. Astley, Halifax, Feb. 5, 1825, aged 72.

Mary Anne Rice, 1st wife, married in the East Indies; died *s. p.* 1804. = Isc. Heywood, *d* youngest son, born Sept. 29, 1769; went to the East Indies, but returned, & was residing at Mansfield, 1817. = Maria, 2d wife, daughter of Henry Hollings, of Nottingham, Esq. married in 1806; died Feb. 11, 1814.

Oliver Heywood, born at Nottingham, May 14th, 1781; baptized by Mr. Walker; died March 1, 1782.

Mary Heywood, eldest daughter, born Jan. 27, 1784; baptized by Mr. Walker, March 3; died at Gainsborough unmarried, Oct. 10, 1810; and buried at St. Mary's church, Nottingham.

Samuel Shaw Heywood, born 25th Oct. 1786; baptized by Mr. Walker, Nov. 30; and died Jan. 9, 1787.

Eliezer Heywood, Gent. only surviving son and heir. The eldest male descendant of John Heywood, of Heywood Mill, temp. Edward VI. born April 28, 1788; married August 25, 1814; and living at Caldecott, 1817. = Mary Butler, daughter of —— Butler, gent. of Caldecott, Cambridgeshire.

Richard Astley, late of Halifax, now of Gloucester, dissenting minister, youngest son of Thomas Astley, of Chesterfield, V.D.M. = Ann Heywood, born at Nottingham, Sept. 10th, 1789; baptized by Mr. Walker, 23d, and married Feb. 11, 1812.

Mary Heywood born at Caldecott, October 5th, 1815.

Samuel Heywood, eldest son, born Sept. 9, 1807, at Mansfield; baptized Oct. 9, by Mr. Bull; died April 30, 1815.

Maria Heywood, born Aug. 31, 1809, living in 1817.

Isaac Heywood, born Feb. 19, 1812, living in 1817.

Henry Heywood, born Oct. 5, 1813; died in his infancy.

NATHANIEL HEYWOOD,*e* son of Richard and Alice Heywood, of Little Lever, born Sept. 16, 1633; Vicar of Ormskirk, Lancashire, from which he was ejected in 1662. Died at Ormskirk, Dec. 16, 1677; and was buried in the chancel of the church at Ormskirk. = Elizabeth, daughter of —— Parr, of Wood, in Eccleston.

- Nathaniel Heywood. = Isabel, 1st wife, daughter of —— Lynford of Brinscawes, nr. Blackburn; died in childbirth of her only son.
  - Benj. Heywood, of Drogheda, in Ireland, only surviving son, born at Ormskirk, in 1692. He was a merchant and land-steward to several gentlemen. He died aged about 30. = Ann, daughter of General Arthur Graham, county of Armagh; survived her husband many years.
    - ARTHUR*f* HEYWOOD
    - Charles Caldwell, of Dublin. = Elizabeth Heywood.
    - Wm. Stewart, Cty. Tyrone. = Mary Heywood.
    - BEN. HEYWOOD*f*
    - Isabella Heywood, wife of Richard Fisher, of Stane, County of Dublin.
    - Ann Heywood, wife of —— Digsoin, Dublin.
    - Charity & Sidney Heywood, and another Daughter, died unmarried.
    - NATH. HEYWOOD*f*
- Rebecca, 2d wife, daughter of —— Angier, of Warrington, married before 1693; buried April 30th, 1695. = Nathaniel Heywood, only child by 2d wife, died young
- Mary, 3rd wife, daughter of —— Freeman, of Liverpool, died 28th of April 1708. = William Heywood died an infant; buried May 13th, 1708.
- Elizabeth & Mary Heywood died unmarried.
- Rich. Heywood, of Liverpool, 2nd son, born August 25, 1661; died without issue, in Nov. 12, 1702.
- Elizth. Heywood, born at Godley, parish of Halifax. = Saml. Park.
  - Nathaniel Park.
- Ann Heywood, = —— Cryer.

List of Nathaniel Heywood's Children continued.

- Catherine Heywood. = Shardley.
- Dorothy Heywood. died without issue.
- Mary & two other children died in infancy.

ARTHUR HEYWOOD, *f*= Sarah, 1st wife, daughter of Samuel Ogden, of Liverpool, = Hannah, 2nd wife, daughter of Richard
of Liverpool, merchant and banker, oldest son, born at Drogheda, about 1717, and died Feb. 14th, 1795, buried in St. Nicholas's church, Liverpool.
merchant, by Penelope his wife, daughter of John Pemberton, of the same place, and co-heir with Bridget Pemberton, wife of Richard Milnes, and with Mrs. Elizabeth Pemberton, who died unmarried.
Milnes, of Wakefield, merchant, by Bridget Pemberton, his wife; born at Wakefield, August 5, 1723, married there, April 26th, 1750.

James Mason, of Shrewsbury = Sarah Heywood, only issue of the first marriage.

James Mason, unmarried.
Sarah Mason, wife 1st of General Blundell, 2nd, of the Count de Mesnard.
Mary Mason, wife of Fran. Trench, of Goswell, Esq. brother & heir presumptive of Lord Ashtown.—*

Richard Heywood, = Mary, daughter of Wm. Earle, of Liverpool, who survived her husband.
of Lark-hall & Liverpool, Esq; died *s. p.* May. 3, 1800, aged 59, buried in St. Nicholas's church Liverpool.

Eliz. Heywood, born at Wakefield, Dec. 11, 1784, wife of Hugh Jones, of Lvrpl. banker.
Mary Heywood, born at Wakefield, Nov. 20, 1785, wife of D. Gaskell, of Lupsett-hall, near Wakefield, Esq.

Benj. Heywood, of = Elizabeth, 2d daughter & co-heir of Jas. Hobson, York, gent. and widow of Wm. Sergeantson, of Hanlith, in Craven, Esq.
Stanley-hall, near Wakefield, Esq; born at Liverpool, in 1752.

Arthur Heywood, born at Wakefield, Nov. 19, 1786, eldest son and heir, a Capt. in the 3rd or King's own reg. of dragoons.
Hannah Heywood, born at Wakefield. Married to the Rev. Edw. Hawke Brooksbank, Vicar of Tickhill.

Arthur Heywood, of Liverpl. born there, 1753.

John Pemberton Heywood, Wakefield, Esq. Barrister-at-law, & one of his Majesty's Justices of the Peace, living, aged 73. = Margaret, daughter of Pet. Drinkwater, of Irwell-House, parish of Prestwick, Lancash. Esq.

Anna Maria, & Bridget Heywood, both died unmarried.

Margaret Heywood.
Peter Heywood, born at Wakefield, Oct. 18, 1799.
Rich. Heywood, born Dec. 21st, 1801.
J. Pemberton Heywood, bn. Apr. 16, 1803.
Oliver Arthur Heywood, born July 24, 1804.
Anna Maria, wife of the Rev. Henry Gylby Lonsdale, Rector of Bolton, juxta Bolland.

Benjamin Heywood, *f* of Liverpool, merchant, 2nd son; born at Drogheda; died at Liverpool, 1795. = Phebe, daughter of Samuel Ogden, of Liverpool, merchant, sister to Sarah, wife of Arthur Heywood.

- Samuel Heywood, of London, Esq. Sergeant-at-law, & a Welch Judge, eldest son & heir. = Susannah, daughter of J. Cornwall, of London, merchant.
  - Phebe Heywood.
  - Ann Heywood.
  - Isabella Heywood.
- Ben. Arthur Heywood, of Manchester, merchant.
- Elizab. Heywood, wife of Joseph Birch, of the Hazles, Lancashire, Esq. M.P. —*
- Ann Heywood.
- Nathaniel Heywood, of Liverpool, and Manchester merchant. = Ann, daughter of T. Percival, of Manchester, M.D; married June 24, 1791.
  - Benjamin Heywood.
  - Elizabeth Heywood.
  - Nathaniel Heywood.
  - Thomas Heywood.
  - Richard Heywood.
  - Ann Heywood, born Dec. 21st, 1801; died Feb. 14th, 1802.
- Sarah Heywood, wife of Rd. Bright, of Bristol, mercht. died lately at an advanced age.—*
- Phebe Heywood.
- Sarah & Edmund Heywood died in infancy.

Nathaniel Heywood, *f* of Southampton, Esq. Lieut. Colonel in the Army; Gent. of the Bedchamber to the Duke of Gloucester. = Anna Maria, 1st wife, daughter of Gen. Bowles. = Mary, 2nd wife, daughter of Sir Richard Hughes, Bart. Capt. in the Navy, widow of Thomas Collingwood, Captain and Admiral in the Royal Navy.

- Rev. Wm. Heywood, in the established church; born at Cuffnels, in the New Forest, Hants. = ——, Daughter of William Reynolds, of Mitford, Hants. Esq.
  - Willliam Heywood, son and heir, Capt. in the Lancashire Militia; born at Chelsea.
  - Henry Heywood, born at Mitford, Capt. in the Hants Militia.
  - Edmund Heywood, born at Mitford, Capt. in the Navy.
  - George Heywood, Clergyman.
  - Anna Maria Heywood, wife of —— Edgecombe, Rector of Backland, Devonshire.
- Peter Heywood died unmarried.
- George Stanley Heywood. = ——, Daughter of —— Morrison, Hants.
  - George Heywood born at Lymington.
  - Anna Maria Heywood.

Errata:—Page 504, Line 15, for 'you' read 'your.' Bottom of page 512, for 'Stane, county of Dublin,' read 'Slane, county of Meath,' and for 'Digsoin,' read 'Aigoin.'

ADDENDA:

CONTAINING THE

LIFE OF THE REV. JOHN ANGIER,

TOGETHER WITH

Biographical Sketches

OF SOME OF THE REV. O. HEYWOOD'S NEAREST RELATIVES.

PREFACE.

FAITHFUL ministers are styled the chariots and horsemen of Israel; these are the watchmen of the city that give warning of danger, intercede with the Lord; and doubtless the church of God must receive great detriment, by the removal of such worthies. It is a saying of the Jewish Rabbins, *Quando luminaria patiuntur eclipsin, malum est signum mundo*, When the heavenly luminaries are eclipsed, it is a dreadful presage of approaching evil to this lower world. The church in these districts hath been successively blessed with famous ministers, and gracious Christians, whose praise is in the churches of Christ; many of whom now sleep in the Lord; yet through God's wise care for the preservation of the churches, not a few are springing up in their room as hopeful slips; on whom and the people surviving, I would here take occasion to drop a word of counsel.

1. You that are expected to succeed this old stock of preachers, worn or wearing out, look to your planting in Christ; let your own souls be duly engrafted into the true vine; presume not to be ministers before you be Christians; get experience of divine truths in your own hearts, and transcribe them in your daily practice; believe, repent, obey yourselves, or you will teach these things badly and unconcernedly; whatever your gifts be, see you have sincere grace, and dedicate your all to God; you serve a holy God, you preach a holy gospel, you have before you holy examples, be you also holy in every change, in all circumstances. Aaron's ornaments signified nothing, if holiness to the Lord was not written upon his forehead on a plate of gold; if you had profound genius and learning, tenacious memories, extraordinary elocution, so that you could speak with the tongues of men and angels, all is of no worth without grace within, and universal sanctity; one allowed sin will worm-eat the goodliest trees, and blast the most pleasant fruits. Some ministers are eminent for one rare gift, others for different accomplishments; all have some, few have all; some modest young men look upon themselves as much behind others, and are apt to be discouraged; my advice to such is, to make up their deficiency in diligence, in holiness, and in faithfulness. When nature or art denies any thing, seek after an equivalent from additional supplies of grace. Grace within, vigorously

exercised, the assisting grace of God procured by faith and prayer will avail much; be faithful to what you have, if you cannot attain much; that is, a fine saying of Luther's, and shall be my motto, "I desire to be found a faithful minister of Christ and his church, if I cannot be wise or skilful." Let not inability discourage you; some ordinary men of humble gifts, may honour God more than some famous learned doctors. Be industrious in your studies; daily improve your talents, you have more helps than your predecessors; give not occasion for the complaint of that Hebrew Rabbi, that the father had plowed, sown, reaped, winnowed the wheat, and set bread on the table, but that the children had no appetite. The greatest abilities may rust away from idleness; but the feeblest grow bright and useful by diligent improvement; the diligent hand with God's blessing makes rich; but be sure you keep humble, despise not, but reverence your forefathers; if you surpass their attainments in literature in some points, it will be well if you fall not below them in real worth, as to the power of godliness; read their lives in Mr. Clarke's collection, especially the last volume printed since his death, and be dissatisfied with yourselves, and excited to a holy emulation in true piety and zeal; get into retirement, mourn to see yourselves thus outstript, and implore more grace from heaven.

I have but a word to say concerning this narrative, the life of this holy man of God; I confess many discouragements lay in the way of this undertaking, not necessary now to be named; the principal was: That we were not capable of doing any thing worthy of him, and it is better do nothing at all, than not to the purpose, or not adequately; but my answer is, that of the Poet Lucan,

> "Quod si digna tuâ minus est mea pagina, laude,
> At voluisse sat est."

And, "*difficilium facilis est venia:*" if I am not able to make a fine portrait, exhibiting all the features gracefully; it may be, this rough sketch may exceed some of our attainments, may excite us to imitation, and some way tend to the glory of our great Master; and then I gain my object. If any say, it is imperfectly done, and might have been done better; I confess it, and let them contribute something to mend it; but this is the best we can produce, according to our information; and if we cannot bring a lamb, our two turtle doves may be accepted both by God and man. May the infinite, omnipotent, faithful God, send labourers into the harvest, supply vacancies, second his servants' efforts with his blessing, and continue his church, ministry, and presence with these nations to the end of the world. Amen.

A

NARRATIVE OF THE LIFE AND DEATH

OF THE

REV. JOHN ANGIER,

*Minister of the Gospel, at Denton.**

Mr. John Angier was born at Dedham, in Essex, of pious parents, and was baptized there, October 8th, 1605. He was carefully instructed by his parents betimes, in the principles of religion, and educated in school learning in the same place; being apt and capable from his childhood, he was much inclined to his book, and very desirous of being trained up for the ministry, which he made his early choice, as appears from the following anecdote, which I have heard confidently related by credible persons. As this John, (who was the first-born son, named after his father,) with his three brethren, Bezaleel, Samuel, and Edmund, were coming from school to their father's house, there fell a shower of rain; they all ran under a tree in a hedge for shelter; standing there and seeing it rain apace, they began to make their several wishes: one wished it would rain learning; another, wool; another, money; and another, plums: thus pleasing themselves with their juvenile fancies; which options, manifested their different inclinations, and became presages of their future disposal. For a neighbour overhearing them, acquainted their father, who calling them to him, examined them one by one, saying, John, what did you wish it might rain at such a time, in such a place? He was then something abashed and loth to answer, but being further urged, said, Sir, I wished it would rain learning. Why? said his father, what profession wouldst thou be of? he answered, I would be a preacher. Come, Beza, said the father, what didst thou wish it would rain? he answered, wool. Why? said he, what calling wouldst thou choose? he answered, I would be of your calling, a clothier. Samuel, said the father, what hadst thou a mind it would rain? He answered, money, for I have a mind to be a merchant. And lastly, calling Edmund, demand-

* This Life of Mr. Angier, was written by Mr. O. Heywood.

ing the same, he answered, that he desired it might rain plums, for he would choose to be a grocer. The father being an intelligent, considerate man, thus ascertained every one's genius; and being furnished with a competent estate, adapted their callings according to their wishes. Bezaleel was a rich clothier in Dedham, and a gracious man; he died October, 30, 1678. Samuel, the third son, being brought up a merchant, lived in good repute in Holland, and there died in March, 1667. Edmund, the youngest, being bound apprentice to a grocer at Cambridge, went into New England, and is the only survivor; he has many years kept a grocer's shop in that country, and I suppose is living at present.

But to return to the eldest son John, the subject of this memoir. Being trained up a scholar, he proved of singular service as an instrument in advancing the glory of God, and promoting the spiritual welfare of others in his generation. And thus they all answered the purpose of their education, and were successful; a good admonition to parents in disposing of their children, rather to consult their children's capacities and inclinations, than their own humours and conveniences; things do always best when voluntarily chosen; when the stream of natural inclination runs through the channel of an adopted vocation, it bears down all opposition, and attains the desired object in the most arduous enterprises; hence Dr. Harris saith, he never attempted any thing within the verge of his calling, though it seemed difficult at the entrance, but with God's blessing on his industrious prosecution, he found it feasible and easy; but *nil invitâ Minervâ*, that which is attempted against the heart, or without an adequate capacity, goes on heavily, and seldom renders a man fit to manage his calling to purpose, or arrive at any eminence in it, because it goeth against the grain; Athenians therefore acted wisely, who brought their youth into a place where utensils for every calling were laid up, that making their choice from them, each might have the calling he, in this way, had chosen.

And as his proficiency at school was according to his time, so divine grace did early begin to touch and affect the heart of our young Timothy, who from a child had known the holy scriptures;* for at twelve years of age, the Lord reached his conscience, with some rays of illumination and darts of conviction, which produced more effect through Mr. Rogers' ministry after his father's death; but from his first convictions, he had much trouble upon his spirit, which he kept in a great measure to himself, and often retired privately, being ashamed that any one should

* 2 Tim. iii. 15.

know of his distress of mind. His mother being an excellent and gracious Christian, often spoke to him of soul concerns, wept and prayed much for him. At a competent age his father sent him to the University of Cambridge; he was admitted in Emanuel College, where, notwithstanding his pious education, and hopeful impressions, before mentioned, he fell off to vain company and loose practices, (see the slipperiness of youth!) to the great grief of his parents, and his own present guilt and subsequent bitterness in the review. There he continued, and commenced Bachelor of Arts, before his father's death; who being sick, sent for him to come home from Cambridge, but he came so late, that in the afternoon as he approached towards Dedham he met the people going from his father's funeral, which made a very deep impression upon him; and God took hold of this occasion more effectually to awaken his conscience, and alarm him respecting his duty.

Mr. Angier was kept a season at his mother's house, followed his studies, and attended to Mr. Rogers' ministry: this Mr. John Rogers, of Dedham, was a prodigy of zeal and success in his ministerial labours; it was wont to be said, Come, let us go to Dedham to get a little fire. He was lecturer there, and preached once on the Lord's day, and a lecture on the Tuesday, to which multitudes of people flocked from the parts adjacent; and his plain preaching was blessed with a large harvest. However, some expressions and gestures he used, would now seem unbecoming; yet the gravity of the man, and the general reverence people had for him, rendered them not only not offensive, but sometimes they produced wonderful effect: his taking hold of the supporters of the canopy over the pulpit with both hands at one time, and roaring hideously, to represent the torments of the damned, had an awakening force attending it. Mr. Thomas Goodwin, afterwards Dr. Goodwin, when a Fellow at Cambridge, and an eminent preacher, occasionally hearing Mr. Rogers, fell under such convictions, that he afterwards professed, that he looked on himself neither as a Christian, nor a preacher before. The following relation Mr. Angier hath often repeated, Mr. Rogers being called to preach a marriage sermon, I think insisted on the wedding garment; God made the word so effectual, that the marriage solemnity was turned into bitter mourning, so that the ministers who were at the marriage were employed in comforting or advising those whose consciences had been awakened by that sermon. O blessed espousals between Christ and souls! such sorrow was better than carnal mirth, and laid a solid foundation for spiritual joy. A gentlewoman who had travelled ten miles to hear plain and

powerful Mr. Rogers, being in great trouble of conscience, desired some conference with him; and after she had related her condition, telling long and sad stories of her wicked heart, deplorable state, God's wrath due to her, danger of dropping into hell, &c. the good old man, hearing all this, at last started up, and pacing across the floor, cried out, God be thanked, God be thanked; the gentlewoman thought the old man mad, and was strangely surprised to see him rejoice in her sorrow; but he knew what he said, and rejoiced in that sorrow, which was the seed of a blessed harvest; for that gentlewoman proved an eminent saint, and an amiable consort in exile and tribulation to a very holy and eminent minister of Christ.

After attending Mr. Rogers' lecture, while others stayed, conversed, and despatched business, it was Mr. Angier's custom to go home to his chamber to meditate, and pray, and apply the sermon to his heart for about an hour, and thus imprinted it so lastingly upon his memory, that he never forgot many passages; and by the time that the family had got home, he was ready to take his dinner with them.

He lived a season at Mr. Rogers' house, who sometimes put him upon praying in the family, which he performed with so much experience, humility, and feeling, that Mr. Rogers would often commend him, and say to his friends, this Mr. Angier will make an excellent man in his generation. Another season, he was with one Mr. Witham, whom I have often heard him commend as a great scholar, and an intelligent man, though not so successful in his ministry as a neighbouring minister of far inferior abilities; one being asked the reason, answered, there were too many for God to work by. I know some say, it was Mr. Hooker's expression relative to the famous Mr. Richardson, on the same account; alluding to Gideon's first army, of which God said, "The people that are with thee are too many for me to give the Midianites into their hands;"* but to whomsoever it was applied, the lesson is useful, to convince us of the Lord's sovereignty in owning or disowning the ministry of men; and his wisdom, lest too much should be ascribed to them, and God should lose his glory.

After this, his dear mother being tender of her son's spiritual good, consulted with her christian friends how to dispose of him; she was one of a thousand for grace, holiness, and charity, saying, she would not have her hand out of a good work. Oh, the prayers and tears she poured out for all her children, but especially for her son John, not only because he was her first-born, but chiefly because he was devoted to God's special work

* Judges vii. 2.

in the ministry, and because of his former backslidings, and her jealousy over him for the future. On consultation with friends, and begging advice from God, she being afraid to send him again to Cambridge, resolved to send him to Mr. John Cotton, at Boston, in Lincolnshire, where he boarded, studied, and sometimes preached; there he contracted an intimate friendship with those three divines, Dr. Tuckney, Dr. Hill, and Dr. Winter: Mr. Anthony Tuckney was Fellow of Emanuel, and so continued a good while, till he was called to be vicar of Boston; he was a serious, decided good man before he went to Boston; he was afterwards Master of Emanuel, and after that of St. John's, Cambridge. And for Mr. Thomas Hill, Dr. Preston, when Mr. Hill was Bachelor of Arts, intending to make him Fellow, sent him to Mr. Cotton for some time, and when he returned from thence, chose him Fellow, designing to ascertain his settled seriousness in religion before his election; for which he thought Mr. Cotton's family might be conducive, and so it proved; afterwards Dr. Hill was Master of Trinity-College, Cambridge, and Dr. Winter, Master of Trinity-College, Dublin; all famous lights in the church of God; Mr. Angier survived them all.

And by the way, it will not be thought censurable to digress a little, and give a few particulars concerning Mr. Cotton, that reverend and worthy man, for though his life was written at large by a New England minister, and Mr. Samuel Clarke afterwards gave extracts out of it: yet some things Mr. Angier hath occasionally mentioned of him to a few of his brethren, which may not be uninteresting: Though Mr. Cotton was an excellent text man, yet he would never deliver his judgment concerning the sense of a scripture, till he had first consulted both the original and context; an excellent pattern. Mr. Angier hath sometimes related to his intimate friends, that Mr. Cotton never went into his study after having been called out on any occasion, but he began his studies again with prayer.

When I was travelling in Cheshire with Mr. Angier, where the roads were exceedingly deep and foul, after he had told me that Mr. Rogers used to say that a good conscience after trials, was like a good wife after a distressing journey, he proceeded to relate a comparison which Mr. Cotton had made: You, said he, in this level country, (Lincolnshire,) in summer time, when the roads are good and dry, are apt to think and say, surely this road will never be foul and miry again; and in the winter you think, when the ways are deep and impassable, it is impossible that these ways should be dry again, or dusty; just so when God shines on the believer's soul with the light of his

countenance, he is apt to say, my "mountain stands so strong, I shall never be moved;" but God "hides his face, then he is troubled;" and when God is withdrawn, oh, saith the Christian, it will never be otherwise; but he lives to see things changed, the sun breaks out from under a cloud, and the black clouds disperse, and so his state is comfortably cleared up. Again Mr. Cotton observed, that God ordered all changes in the world, for comfort or correction to his own people, and modelled all things according to their condition and necessities.

Thus much for the digression concerning Mr. Cotton. To return to Mr. Angier, whom we left at Boston with Mr. Cotton, where his conversation was as became the gospel, only then and afterwards, in reference to the work of conversion on his soul, he was at a loss to decide from what time he must date it, whether before his declension at the University, or after: this case of conscience he opened to an eminent divine, (Mr. White,) with its aggravating circumstances; yet that pious man gave him encouragement, said with some confidence, that he was persuaded the first work of God upon his heart at twelve years of age, was effected by saving grace, notwithstanding his after-miscarriages, and that God might have gracious purposes in permitting such backslidings, for his further humiliation, and preparation for further service.

At this time there lived in Mr. Cotton's family, a pious young woman, called Ellen Winstanley, born near Wigan in Lancashire, niece to Mrs. Cotton; and it pleased God to incline Mr. Angier to form a connection with her, so that within a year after he came thither, they were married in the parish church at Boston, April 16th, 1628; and they continued there till his son John was born, who was baptized in the same church, June 13th, 1629. Mr. Anthony Tuckney being then vicar, there; about this time several ministers and Christians went into New England, to enjoy the liberty of the gospel, Mr. Angier had some thoughts of going also, however, he first took a journey into Lancashire to visit his wife's relations, and take leave of them; they prevailed with him to preach at Bolton; R. M. one from Ringley chapel, hearing him, obtained from him a promise to come to Ringley on a week day, and preach with Mr. Mather, then at Toxteth Park chapel, and preparing to go into New England; Mr. Mather began, Mr. Angier was to succeed him; but it being a hot summer day, and an exceedingly throng place, Mr. Angier was overcome with heat, and swooned away, not being able to proceed further than about the middle of his sermon. Mr. Mather, however, went up and continued the services; that evening many of the chapelry fol-

lowed Mr. Angier to E. Walworth's house, in Ringley-fold, and solicited him to be minister at Ringley; he deferred his answer until Monday se'nnight after; at which time he was to deliver the lecture at Bolton; many of the chapelry then heard him, and after the lecture, at one Widow Rothwell's, presented to him a paper, wherein were the names of the principal people in the chapelry, that vote in public concerns; he asked, whether the names of all were in that paper; they told him, the names of all that had votes; but if he pleased all the rest might readily be had. After Mr. Angier's return to Boston, a letter was sent to him with the names of all the families, masters, and others, and a letter was returned from him to the chapelry, informing the people, that if they would fetch him and his family, he might be theirs; whereupon, in the beginning of September, 1630, two good men were sent with horses and furniture, John Jackson, and Francis Critchley, who stayed several days at Boston. Mr. Cotton judged the call to be clear, Mr. Angier was well satisfied; the two faithful messengers brought Mr. Angier, his wife, his son, and his maid to Ringley, to the great joy of those that feared God in the place. The text he preached on, was Philemon 22, "But withal prepare me also a lodging, for I trust that through your prayer I shall be given unto you." Some time they had to lodge with another family, till a convenient house was made ready; his residence was in Ringley-fold, in an ordinary house, with which he was well content; when people came to repetition in his little house, and wanted room and seats, he said, Better want room than good company; people were kind and very helpful, and the word of God mightily succeeded, and prospered exceedingly, "much people was added to the Lord." Now Ringley had her day, a conversion-day to not a few, an enlivening day to many of God's children, that flocked thither like doves to the windows, so that all the Christians that were capable and willing to attend private days and duties of prayer, could not meet in one place; two places were often appointed for that purpose, as some yet living testify; this was a time of God's signal appearance, the Lord casting many souls into the mould of the gospel, and a good impression remains to this very day, though many of that old description are fallen asleep.

With respect to his investiture in his ministerial office, he had episcopal ordination. Mr. Cotton having interest with Lewis Bayley, a bishop in Wales, (who published the *Practice of Piety*) he wrote to him, with Mr. Angier, and he ordained him without subscription: yet Mr. Angier continued a Non-conformist to the ceremonies, and therefore had some adversa-

ries; for Dr. Bridgeman, bishop of Chester, lived at Great Lever at that time, to whom were brought various and heavy complaints against Mr. Angier for not conforming. The bishop sent for him, and expostulated with him, it being a kind of affront to preach so near him, only about two miles distant; he admonished him, and exhorted him to conform; he sent for him many times, yet usually gave him very good words, and professed his great respect for him. God ordered it so by his providence, that the bishop's wife being a pious woman, was at that time much afflicted in conscience, and Mr. Angier, by God's blessing, was an instrument of much good to her, by his counsels and prayers, which became a furtherance of his liberty; for the bishop would usually say, Mr. Angier, you must see my wife before you go, and she interceded for him; yet notwithstanding the bishop was not suffered to be quiet, but some or other inveighed strongly against Mr. Angier, insomuch that he was suspended twice in one year, but restored by the mediation of his friends. At last the bishop said,—"Mr. Angier, I am disposed to indulge you, but cannot; for my Lord's Grace of Canterbury (Archbishop Laud) hath rebuked me for permitting two Nonconformists, the one within a mile on one hand (good Mr. Horrocks at Dean Church) and another on the other, yourself; and I am likely to come into disfavour on this account. As for Mr. Horrocks, said he, my hands are bound, I cannot meddle with him, (it is thought he meant by reason of some promises to his wife:) but as for you, Mr. Angier, you are a young man, and doubtless may get another place, and if you were any where at a little further distance, I could better connive at you; for I study to do you a kindness, but cannot as long as you are thus near me," &c. Some judged that one reason was, the bishop's sons were at this time on the rising ground, and his connivance might be an obstacle in the way of their preferment. He did suspend Mr. Angier, who continued a while under that suspension; however he had been ordained, June 28, 1629, and a provincial license was obtained for him, at a provincial visitation at Manchester, Oct. 23, 1630. He continued, though not without some interruption, about a year and a half at Ringley chapel.

One circumstance I shall take the liberty of inserting as evidence of the grace of God accompanying Mr. Angier's ministry, while he was at Ringley:—A Richard Hardman of Ratcliff-bridge having received good from Mr. Angier's ministry, a sister of his living near to Houghton chapel in Dean parish, came with her husband to his house at Ratcliff-bridge on the Saturday evening, the night before what is called Mid-Lent

Sunday, to be merry at the wakes; for on that day, Ratcliff wakes (which is a mad revelling or feasting time) began and continued most of the week following. But God had turned the bias of Richard Hardman's heart another way, and he plainly told his sister and her husband, they would have been more welcome at another time, but since they were then come, they must not expect his accompanying them, but he rather desired them to go along with him to Ringley; and after family duty, he went into a private place to pray, where he found so much of God's presence and assistance in a special manner for his sister, that he was satisfied God would do her good. They both went with him to Ringley to hear Mr. Angier, where God did lay hold on her heart by a sound conviction and deep humiliation; formerly she was wont to scoff at religion, but now she commenced the serious practice thereof, so far as could be judged; her husband also was much restrained, and both of them as they went home on the Monday, heard Mr. Angier at the lecture at Bolton; she being so overpressed in spirit, that she could not forbear but went to Mr. Angier at widow Norris's house, where she had some conversation with him: and she continued stedfast in religion to her dying day.

As for his removal from Ringley to Denton, it was thus:—He continued suspended at Ringley for near half a year, and there was no hope of his restoration to his former liberty there. At this time, Denton chapel in Manchester parish was vacant, Mr. Broxholm being banished from thence also by a suspension: the people seeking for a pious minister, several were proposed; Mr. Hyde of Norbury and Mr. Hyde of Denton had pitched on Mr. Henry Root, but Mr. Holland of Denton did not consent. He told them of a little man at Ringley, one Mr. Angier, and, said he, I hear much good of him; if you will give him a call, you shall have my heart and hand. Accordingly they sent to him, he came and preached at Denton, they generally approved of him and chose him, and he came thither in the year 1632. He preached his first sermon on Easter Sunday: when Mr. Holland, and Mr. Hyde of Norbury, and Mr. Hyde of Denton, brought him thither,—he said, By God's grace he would attend to his work, but would look to them under God for maintenance: there he continued to his dying day, notwithstanding all public and personal vicissitudes, from which he met with various interruptions in the course of 45 years and 4 months. His removal to a greater distance from the bishop, did not serve him, even at Denton he found adversaries, but at the same time he found God his friend there, who raised up

for him many friends. Hear himself relating how the Lord had dealt with him, in his Epistle Dedicatory prefixed to his book, called *A Help to better Hearts for better Times*, printed A. D. 1647. Thus he saith: "Though in nine or ten years at Denton chapel, I preached not above two single years (to my best remembrance) without interruption, and in that time was twice excommunicated; though Sabbath assemblies were sometimes distractedly and sorrowfully broken up, and my departure from my habitation and people often forced, no means of return left in sight, yet through the fervent prayers of the church, God renewed liberty.

It was muttered that Mr. Angier had a hand in a certain book which reflected upon the bishop, in consequence of which he was much disturbed, and was in danger of being brought into the High-Commission Court. The book was found in Stockport, casting some reflections upon the archbishop's speech in the Star-chamber; and though Mr. Angier was suspected of it, yet he professeth his innocence in his diary. But pursuivants came to apprehend him, and this trouble occasioned him to sell the land at Dedham which his father left him, worth £40. a year, turning it into money, as being less visible, and so less subject to danger. God hid his person, as he did Jeremiah and Baruch. Some Lord's days he hath preached in his house, because he could not safely go into the chapel; afterwards he travelled into Essex, and abode there with his friends till the storm was blown over. R. R. a very stout man, once riding with him near to Huntingdon, they were in danger of being robbed, but he taking a pistol in his hand, gave Mr. Angier the case, and God disposed the thieves to withdraw from them. He once met a pursuivant on Delamere forest. Mr Angier knew the pursuivant at a great distance, and his wife was much afraid, but the pursuivant passed by and discovered him not. There was also one Starkey, an agent of the Spiritual Court in Cheshire, an adversary to Mr. Angier, who frequently came and disturbed him, whom God took away. Mr. Holland travelled to York for him once, if not oftener; where he had an old friend high in office, who told him he would do any thing for him he desired. Mr. Angier informed me that as he was once going to York to get off his suspension or excommunication, Providence cast him at Wakefield on the Lord's day: on hearing Mr. Lister, the vicar there, he was exceedingly pleased with his preaching, and perceiving that the Lord's supper was to be administered that day in the church, Mr. Angier stayed and joined with the assembly; he had his liberty of posture, and found the Lord graciously present with him in the ordinances

of that day; having got a good repast, he went on his journey, and prospered in his business. He often inquired after Mr. Lister, for whom he had a great respect; and indeed he had catholic principles, and loved *aliquid Christi*, any thing of Christ wherever he saw it, and continued this good old Puritan spirit to his dying day. Mr. Lister, when he died, had been vicar of Wakefield 50 years; he was buried there, Jan. 17, 1678. When these storms were blown over, and new confusions arose in the kingdom; when civil dissensions and open wars took place, he continued in his work and station: and though he adhered to the Parliament, yet his affectionate prayers for the king, temperate spirit, and faithful attachment to his principles, procured him good will from his greatest adversaries; he maintained a friendly intercourse with all sober persons of different persuasions in political and ecclesiastical affairs, instances whereof I could give, and testimonials of his inoffensive behaviour, even from such as differed much from him: but I forbear, his own works justify him before men. About this time his first wife died, Dec. 14, 1642, shortly after she had borne him a daughter. She had been exceedingly tender in her bodily constitution, and of a troubled spirit; she occasioned him some trials; though she was a gracious woman, yet being of a melancholy habit, Satan had a great advantage in casting his fiery darts into such combustible matter, which occasioned much affliction both to herself and her husband, though he bore it with unparalleled wisdom and patience. She died at the beginning of the wars, intimating to her husband, who she thought might prove a good second wife, and, according to her suggestion, about a year after he married Mrs. Margaret Moseley of Ancoats, a very prudent, pious gentlewoman: they were married very publicly in Manchester church, in the heat of the wars; which was noticed as an act of faith in them both. Mr. Horrocks and Mr. Root preached the marriage sermons, providence directing their thoughts to pitch both on one text, which was Gen. ii. 18, "I will make him a help-meet for him:" both presaging what indeed she proved, an excellent, suitable partner, a tender mother to his three children, and a useful mother in Israel; for though God denied her issue, yet she was very fruitful in good works, of excellent disposition and well ordered activity, of a public spirit and rare accomplishments for piety, charity, and sobriety; with whom he lived with abundant, mutual satisfaction, above 30 years. She died of a tympany, and was buried in Denton chapel, Oct. 31, 1675; after whose death he lived solitarily, till God translated him to her. Nor was the solemnity on his marriage, any result of vain-glory or

ostentation, but well considered; it was his settled judgment and advice, that marriage should be publicly solemnized; yea, his view also was, that a regular approach should be made to marriage by mutual contract: this rule he followed when his daughter Elizabeth was to be married to a Yorkshire minister.*

He stayed at that little chapel at Denton in those free times wherein he was at liberty, and had some calls to greater places, as it respects worldly preferment, but that was not of much consideration in his account. Some of his brethren can yet testify how much he was courted to more public spheres of labour; but his frequent refusal was evidence of his great self-denial. Few men in his circumstances shut the mouths of malignant censurers on that point, as he did. Old Mr. Langley, of Middlewich in Cheshire, may also be mentioned, who was minister there before the wars; and though he was seven years together silenced, yet when he was restored to his liberty, he returned to them, where he had but a very pitiful maintenance, and continued there to the day of his death. Before one of the bishops of Chester, since the deprivation of ministers by the Act of Uniformity, it was observed that it was a signal favour to Mr. Angier, that he should be permitted to live with that people still, as a reward for his tarrying with them when he might have removed to his greater advantage: and indeed all his actions spoke very great self-denial. How much worldly wealth he might have hoarded up, if he had taken what was offered him and retained what he had, take an instance or two: Mr. L. sent a man and horses for him to bring him into Craven, 30 or 40 miles, to baptize his child. Mr. Angier went, preached in Gisburn church (which some remember to this day) and God did marvellously work upon his wife's heart by that sermon. When he returned, Mr. L. gave him five broad pieces of gold into his hand, desiring him to accept them; but he only took one, and gave him four back again. Another urging him to accept a broad piece, he absolutely declined the present, excusing himself with much modesty. Another time preaching a lecture at Braintree, a gentleman came to him, a stranger, desiring him to accept a 20s. piece of gold, for the offer of which he thanked him, but refused. But I forbear more instances.

About this time, the good people of Ringley exerted themselves to obtain Mr. Angier again to be their minister, because he was first theirs, and forcibly driven from them; they thought they had the best right to him, therefore they wrote a large and pathetic letter to Mr. Angier, which I have by me,

* See Page 36.

entreating him to return, addressing themselves to Denton people, with engaging terms persuading them to release him, if it were but one year, to settle things amongst them; and again affectionately urging ministers that were called on to give their advice, to direct him that way. The letter is full of christian affection, and deserves recording, to manifest the endearing love of a people to their quondam pastor, and their high respect for him. Take a few expressions.

Reverend and much honoured Sir,

We whose names are here under-written, being few in number, and long and not a little afflicted in condition, belonging to that unworthy congregation to whom God first lent you, (in this county) having for a great while been pressed under the sad burden of the heaviest affliction that this life can endure, namely, not the bare fear, but the plain sense of the Almighty's displeasure and hot indignation gone out against us. For a short time, he was pleased to cause his glory to shine in our public and private assemblies, and to set up his standard in our house of worship; giving many of us, and others about us, our first effectual call, and coming near to all his people. But oh, how soon began our dark night, (nay, age) to approach. God, by his all-disposing providence, has been saying to this sad place for 20 years and upwards: "Let very few or none more of this people be converted; let them have little of my presence in their house of public meeting, let none of my ministers be set over them for their profit; let them be decreased by death, by schisms, and by scandals; yea, let their public assemblies be broken up, and let help and healing be looked for in vain; let them look for light, and behold obscurity, for brightness, but walk in darkness." For these things, reverend sir, we do mourn, and our hearts are troubled: and to whom (under God) shall we lay open our sad afflictions, thereby to get ease, but to yourself, whom it pleased God once to make his blessed instrument for planting and watering so many souls amongst us? We have had experience of your love to us, for which we desire to be thankful and do bless God; and do therefore make bold to acquaint you with our broken condition, entreating your intercession for us: and if it were the good will of the Lord, your return to us, with the consent of your people, without offence, though it could be but for a short space, &c.

And thus they go on imploring it with great importunity for the church's sake, and the Lord's sake, though but for one year.

To this there are twenty-four names subscribed; but the people of Denton having possession, would by no means yield; and ministers gave in their judgment, upon due consideration of circumstances, that for the public good of the church, Mr. Angier should continue at Denton, in which he was willing to acquiesce.

As to Mr. Angier's judgment in ecclesiastical affairs: in free times, as he had not turned aside to conformity on the one hand, so now he adhered firmly to sound and catholic principles, not turning aside to any ways of sinful separation; though some of his intimate friends forsook him, and some of his brethren censured him for too liberal principles and practices in church-administration; yet as he had a tender respect for congregational brethren, so they had, (at least many of them) a great reverence for him; he was a principal member of the reverend class, or association of ministers at Manchester, and was of great account, and very useful among them; such was their esteem of him, that they would scarce do any thing of importance without him; he oftentimes presided as chairman or moderator; frequently attended the provincial assembly at Preston; had ruling elders in his own congregation, but loved not dividing principles, nor distinguishing names, nor lordly domineering by arbitrary impositions. I have often heard him say, that in a little time, who ever lived, would see that much of the government of Christ would be carried on in particular churches amongst themselves.

He was of a sweet, moderate, healing spirit, both at home and abroad; yet he was very faithful, and dealt plainly, whereby some were for a time offended, and possibly some of his principles or proceedings suited not the principles or humours of many; yet even those persons received what he spoke with high veneration; and if at any time they broke out into passions or unruly animosities, his love and lenity, his mild carriage and compassionate spirit, did so mollify and qualify their minds, that in time, they were either overcome to a compliance, or won to cherish apprehensions of his candour and ingenuousness; so that I have often thought of that passage of Melchior Adam, one of the German divines, as applicable to Mr. Angier; speaking of Schwebellius, who had much to do with Anabaptists, and Schwenckfeldians, Quorum impetus mansuetudine fregit, patientia vicit, et lenitate in ordinem coegit;* thus this good Mr. Angier "hath by mildness broke, by patience conquered, and by lenity reduced to good order" such as have been exasperated by the severity and rigour of others.

And with respect to his judgment and practice in public and

* Melch. Ad. in Vit. Ger. Theo. page 65.

political affairs. He was fixed in his attachment to Monarchy, and was not wheeled about with the change of times; he was one of those who bore their testimony against the unparalleled murder of King Charles the First, and the usurpation attending it; he refused to enter into *The Engagement*, though to his great prejudice, for he told a pious minister that he lost £200. by his refusal of it. He durst not give God thanks for the army's success against the loyal Scots; he poured out many hearty prayers and tears for his present Majesty, asserted his right to the crown in the face of apparent danger; joined his brethren in that solid plea for the non-subscribers of the Engagement, which was to be true and faithful to the Commonwealth of England, as it is now established without king or house of lords, for which they were threatened and endangered, till God broke that snare. Some troubles Mr. Angier and some ministers and gentlemen went through, for owning his majesty's cause, they were carried prisoners to Liverpool, and from thence to Ormskirk because of the plague; they had indeed permission for their friends to visit them, and free intercourse; they spent much time in prayer, and thus strengthened one another's hands in God, and left a good savour behind them, the remembrance of which continues to this day.

At this time was the conception, and afterwards the birth of that excellent treatise of Mr. Edward Gee's, then minister of Eccleston, and prisoner with them, about *prayer*. The occasion of which was this: Amongst the debates conducted by those holy men, this case of conscience was discussed, on which they desired satisfaction, namely, Whether God may disregard his people's prayers, grounded upon his promise, and seem by his providence to answer prayers which are directly the reverse? whether this can be shown to be the case by any examples? in what sense God may do this? what may be the reason thereof? what use may be made of God's proceedings in this way? This multifarious question being the peculiar subject of that day, and not being themselves satisfied in their present conversation, they judged it proper to refer it to a fuller discussion by some able pen, and pitched upon Mr. Gee, who undertook it, and wrote an excellent treatise, which is extant, and of great use at this day.

Other cases of conscience did occur at that time, wherein Mr. Angier's advice was desired. One was, whether justices of the peace, or other officers might take commissions from, and act under the usurping powers? Mr. Angier thought they might, bringing instances of civil officers acting in their stations during the six years of Athaliah's usurpation; there is a large

Treatise in manuscript upon this subject. Many such cases were propounded to him, and judiciously resolved; and indeed he was esteemed by good men, the living oracle of this period, as Mr. Hildersham had been before him, and by some ill-willed persons he was called the idol of Lancashire, because of the great value most men set upon him. But more of this subject shall be subjoined in the close, respecting his faculty in resolving weighty cases of conscience.

He was not a man for war, yet his counsels and prayers had influence on weighty affairs. And this was the sphere in which he moved, not thrusting his sickle into another's harvest, but declaring his judgment as a minister of the gospel, when consulted with. He could not but inquire how it went with the church of God at home and abroad, that he might accordingly order his prayers; and for this reason it is said of the reverend Mr. Hooker, of New England, that he was a great inquirer after news; he also said he did it on the same account; and thus like Nehemiah he made enquiry, not out of Athenian curiosity, but christian conscientiousness, to sympathize with the church of God; he had no hand in public revolutions, hence it was that he enjoyed so much peace, and that all the parties had a high esteem of him; in Lord Delamere's appearance for his majesty's cause, Mr. Angier stayed at home; though his heart and prayers were that way, yet he foresaw the event, and in that, God graciously heard his prayers for preventing the effusion of blood, and bringing in the king in so remarkable a manner. The year following, in consequence of this change, Mr. Angier kept solemn days of thankfulness, though he also predicted an approaching storm on many of the ministers of Christ, who could not run the same length that others did; at a service at Eccles he gave remarkable hints of what was coming on, from Exod. xiv. 12, in a full assembly of several descriptions of hearers; but so wisely, that the most malicious Momus could not take advantage from his sermon; and indeed, he might be allowed to speak what others could not, his integrity and known loyalty, his uprightness and peaceableness being deeply engraven on the consciences of all that knew him, and his name being precious to all that heard him. When the Act of Uniformity came out, he preached very plainly on Esther iv. 1. It was very admirable to observe what appropriate scriptures he chose, for public or personal occasions, and how sweetly and suitably he accommodated his matter at those times.

His natural genius led him mostly to be a son of consolation. He had a peculiar gift in opening the sweet promises of the gospel, and pouring oil into wounded consciences, encouraging

drooping spirits, and answering desponding objections, to abundant satisfaction. He could, (and sometimes did) act the part of a Boanerges, to thunder out the menaces of the law against secure and obstinate sinners; and the Lord blessed his ministry both ways, for levelling high mountains, and lifting up valley-souls. He was an excellent text-man, a solid expositor; his way was to compare one scripture with another, wherein he had a singular art, showing the main scope of the Holy Spirit, raising pertinent doctrines; though he had consulted expositors, of which he had great choice, yet he made no ostentation of his acquaintance with them by numerous quotations, but extracted the marrow out of them, and pitched upon what seemed most proper.

He did not concern himself with controversies in the pulpit, but preached the most plain, practical, experimental truths, and often inculcated the essentials of religion, still teaching the people knowledge, insomuch that the Christians who were brought up under his ministry were solid, judicious, intelligent, and peaceable professors, few warping off to the errors of the times; and if he had occasion to deal with the petulant sceptics or dogmatizers of the age, he laid down positive truths, and solidly confirmed them, without following the wild vagaries of erratic spirits to disprove them; judging with Zuinglius, (Veris intellectis, falsa etiam haud difficulter agnoscuntur,) When truth is discovered, error is detected, and is either acknowledged or falls of itself. But indeed he loved not disputes, nor did his studies or genius carry him out to controversies, except God's glory, and the necessary defence of truth required it, and then also he managed things so calmly and fairly, that he won adversaries, and won credit to his cause. Dissensions were his burden, unity his delight, and God gave him his desire, "for the divisions of Reuben he had sad thoughts of heart;" and for disputes among divines, was ready to breathe out with honest Summerhald, that sad phrase, Quis me tandem liberabit ab istâ rixosâ theologiâ, Who will at length set me free from this quarrelsome theology? Mr. Angier constantly expressed sad regret on such unwelcome occasions of dispute and contention; his usual expression being, this is tedious work, and goes on wearily.

It is true, he was a great peace-maker in sacred and civil broils. If any of his neighbours had quarrels with one another, the matter was brought before him, and his wisdom found out some expedient to reconcile them, and his grave exhortations usually prevailed for accommodation; if not, he laid it deeply to heart, and still made it the matter of prayer; but God ordi-

narily blessed him with success, and gave him the benediction pronounced for peace-makers, to be called one of the children of God. In some cases of difference, I have known him, (said one that had reason to know, and is faithful in the relation,) give money out of his purse to compose some quarrels; and though those days were very grievous to him, yet when his success answered his designs, the issue and review were sweet to his spirit, and he did not repent his fatiguing labours.

Mr. Angier did not offer to the Lord that which cost him nothing, he engaged his whole man in that which he went about, not doing the work of the Lord negligently: he took great pains in studying his sermons, and they were elaborate, full fraught with spiritual treasure, very exact, no waste words nor repetitions; but he went on smoothly, pertinently and sententiously, though he studied matter rather than words, and never used notes in all his life, but took pains to commit his sermons to memory, which he had before diligently penned; he stood not to look for proofs, but repeated the words of scripture, he quoted exactly, yet *memoriter*, so improving them to the present occasion, holding up his hands all the time of his sermon, speaking with an equal, audible voice, with much ardour and energy both of spirit and speech; his sermons were not long nor full of divisions, but well compacted and methodical, (which is a help to memory,) and under a few particulars he had suitable and perspicuous enlargements; he preached longer in his younger days, and in his old age, about an hour, scarcely any more or less, and it exceedingly spent him, being usually in a state of perspiration at his coming out of the pulpit; warming a scarlet cloth, he laid it on his breast, for he was very subject to catch cold after preaching; and I have heard him say of old Mr. Rogers, that in his early life when he came out of the pulpit, one stayed him, to have some conversation with him, then another, in the open air when the pores were open: but he found sensible prejudice from it, and learned to take more care of himself, for people did not consider.

It was little less than a miracle, that a man of such a weak constitution as Mr. Angier's was, could bear up so long under such daily and indefatigable labours; his constant preaching twice every Lord's day, most part of his time travelling, and preaching often abroad on week-days, his monthly attendance at the class-meetings of the Presbytery, his frequent journeys to the Provincial assembly, his constantly assisting in the ordination of ministers, observing many private fasts amongst his own people and abroad, yea, extraordinary fasts in public, especially the monthly fasts kept for Ireland, at that time; he

ordinarily kept the fast himself, wherein he spent six or seven hours in wrestling with God in prayer, or in preaching; he was wonderfully enlarged, and had a great measure of the Spirit poured upon him, and his body was much supported, for he said, private fasts spent his natural strength more than his sabbath-day's work did, as he still kept the posture of kneeling, and feelingly united with others that were exercising; for he put others on to pray, and himself closed up the day with a short but fervent melting prayer, being more brief towards the latter end of his days.

His observing fasts with his people was an evidence that his delight was in that kind of exercise; for he hath often said, that one great thing which tied and endeared him to that poor people, was, that whenever they had occasion they appointed a fast and joined together in prayer, and also in praise; and he had a particular regard for his worthy friend, Col. Richard Holland, on that account, because whenever he had been in trouble, he constantly called good people together to pray to God with him.

He was so constant in his ministerial work, and diligent in his studies and preaching to his own people, that though Mr. Harrison of Ashton, his intimate friend, and he lived near together for twenty years, yet never did they exchange places for one day in all that time to relieve themselves; Mr. Herle told him he had a weak body, yet a Venice glass, well looked to, would last a considerable time: and notwithstanding his excessive labours, God maintained in him a considerable measure of health, possibly more than he enjoyed in his younger years; and next to divine Providence, much may be ascribed to his severe temperance, observance of diet, composedness of mind, and care of himself, according to his experience of what he had found salutary or hurtful to him: and though he was of a far weaker constitution than Mr. Harrison, and older by several years, yet he survived him; to whom he sometimes said, "Mr. Harrison, you think you can do any thing, but your body will fail you," and indeed it did, for though that learned, gracious, zealous man of God had a very strong, healthful, robust body, yet by his excessive studies, and assiduous labours, and watchings, and sitting so close without fire in cold winter nights, his sinews became so contracted, and his body so weak, that some years before he died he could not stir hand or foot; yet was hearty, and would often say, "If I were in the pulpit I should be well." But to return to Mr. Angier: he was a man much in prayer, it may be said of him as of David, Psal. cxix. 164, "That he prayed or praised God seven times

a-day:" at least, twice (I think thrice) with his wife, twice alone, and twice with his family; in his family exercises he was very profitable, every one got a verse or more out of the chapter read at prayer: he gathered some useful instructions, short but valuable, and accommodated to the condition of the family: eight o'clock in the morning, and betwixt five and six at night before supper, were the ordinary seasons for family worship, beginning with a psalm, by which the family had notice to come together. His constant course was to have a chapter read after dinner and supper, before they rose from the table, and before thanks were returned; and he said he took up that custom of having a chapter read at meals, from Mr. Rogers, of Dedham; worthy Mr. Samuel Hildersham had constantly two stanzas of a psalm sung after meals, so had the first christian emperor, Constantine the Great, as Eusebius tells us; and I have known some profit from it.

And as Mr. Angier was much in prayer, so he was mighty in prayer; fervent as well as frequent, he wept and made supplication, Jacob-like; yea, he was an Israelite—a prince with God; he was by some called weeping Angier; for as he seldom rose off his knees without tears, so some have observed tears at some seasons trickle down to his band in great abundance. Mr. Isaac Ambrose, in his *Diary* printed with his *Media*, saith, "Upon a solemn day of fasting and prayer in Manchester church, Mr. A. concluding, his prayer was so affecting, that I believe it melted all hearts: and for my own," continues he, "it pleased the Lord so to soften and to break it, that so far as I remember, it was never in such a melting frame in any public ordinance before; and as it affected men's hearts, so it was prevalent and reached God's heart, as the event demonstrated: thus the in-wrought prayer (δέησις ἐνεργουμένη) of a righteous man availeth much. Certainly Mr. Angier had many remarkable returns of prayer; whereof it may be, something shall be added out of his own papers hereafter. In such great esteem was he generally held, that he was often sent for to pray with melancholy persons, and some possessed, as was supposed; and at times they brought such persons to him from afar, and God was pleased in some cases to hear prayer: but various particulars reported, I dare not relate, except I had clear and undoubted testimony for the truth of reports.

Besides as he was instant and prevalent in prayer, so he was excellent and abundant in praises. Frequent ejaculations and expressions of God's grace and mercy were in his mind and mouth: they that conversed with him, often heard (Deo gratias) thanks be to God, from him. But as he took more occasions than many

others, of keeping days of thanksgiving, so God gave him still more occasions of thankfulness: and it is usual for God to put new songs of praise into the mouths of those who are thankful. It was his frequent observation, that when a day of thanksgiving was appointed, God sent in some fresh matter to increase joy in the Lord; and sometimes the intervening providence merited such a day as much as the former: so well doth God take the discharge of this pleasing duty, that he encourages to it. And O how enlarged was he in those days and duties! He seemed to be transported into ecstacies of admiration: he even appeared to be elevated above the earth, amongst the celestial inhabitants: his heart and mouth were enlarged and raised to a high strain, in rehearsing the loving-kindness of the Lord. He expatiated especially upon spiritual mercies, to the astonishment of those that united with him; often adopting David's holy rhapsody, 2 Sam. vii. 18—20, "Who am I, O Lord God? and what is my father's house, that thou hast brought me hitherto?" It would have done one's heart good to hear him an hour together reckoning up the mercies of God, in infancy, childhood, youth, riper age, in all estates, relations, conditions, afflictions; and then magnifying the free grace of God in giving his Son for us, his Spirit to us, promises, privileges, gospel ordinances, &c. and afterwards the great kindness of God to his particular congregation in public liberty, for which he kept many days of thanksgiving, and for national mercies; yea, there was not any of his relations, or in his congregation, under any affliction or temptation, but as he prayed for them, so he gave God thanks for their deliverance. He shared the sensations of every one's heart: he mourned with such as mourned, rejoiced with such as rejoiced. God had given him a sympathizing heart; he might say, who is weak, and I am not weak? *

But especially he was deeply concerned for the church of God both at home and abroad: he gave God no rest, but was the Lord's remembrancer, standing between the living and the dead, in the breach that sin had made, to hold off wrath. He had great interest at the throne of grace, and notably improved it, by believing prayer, and filling his mouth with arguments. He had skill and disposition for his work: often was he in the mount, and conversed with God as a man with his friend. He had an excellent art in humble expostulation with God: surely the church militant parted with a friend when he was translated to glory. It appeared in the congregation that God had set him over, what weight he bore up, by the dreadful effects attending his death: thereby the people lost their privileges; for

* 2 Cor. xi. 29.

from the day of his funeral to this day, no Nonconformist has ever preached in his pulpit, so that it appears for whose sake the liberty was maintained. Denton has found the smart, it will be well if England feel not the fatal consequences of the removal of such pillars. Methusalem died the same year that the deluge overspread the world: Hippo was sacked by the Vandals, immediately after Augustine's death there: Heidelberg taken after Pareus's death: Luther died a little before the wars in Germany. Lord, prevent temporal evils threatened, that the prediction may not be accomplished, that the righteous is taken away from the evil to come:* this worthy, fallen in Israel, speaks heavy things to England.

Mr. Angier was very solemn and grave in all his addresses to God, or in his delivering messages from God. It was his usual manner, before he spoke a word in prayer, to pause a considerable while looking upwards, composing his thoughts, possessing his heart with awful apprehensions of the divine Majesty, and by mental ejaculations imploring God's quickening presence, and after a season, he arrived gradually to a great degree of zeal and fervency in prayer, agonizing in the duty with sweat and tears, which rendered his speaking at some seasons both painful and difficult; yet was he not only actuated by zeal and affection, but had also appropriate matter, exact method, and well adapted expressions. Mr. Harrison was wont to call him a ponderous man, for every word had its weight and emphasis: he had no waste words either in prayer or preaching, but as his affections were excited, so his words were few and well weighed.

He was not usually long, except upon extraordinary occasions, and then not tedious, because variety of matter and his empassioned manner rendered his prayers interesting. He proposed this question, whether the Spirit of God did ordinarily dictate matter of prayer? he did conceive it might, from Rom. viii. 26, "The Spirit helpeth, for we know not what we should pray for." Yet he was far from enthusiasm; nor was he altogether against forms of prayer, nor joining in public with the liturgy, though he judged that inconvenient modes of worship must be our affliction, but may not be our sin, when we are not in a capacity to procure a remedy; nor did he think that mere presence signifies consent to or the approbation of every thing we hear. As for the Lord's prayer, his judgment was, that it was delivered chiefly by our Saviour as a pattern or platform of prayer, to which (as to several heads) all our prayers should be referred.

He seldom insisted long upon a text, (except he took a

* Isa. lvii. 1.

scripture before him) because, as he used to say, a minister may have frequent occasions in the course of his ministry, to return again to the same subjects, therefore he needs not to say all that can be said upon it at once, but extract the marrow of the text, and select what at present he judgeth proper to the prinpal occasion for which he chose it, and drive that nail home: yea, though a minister should say all that he can collect upon such a text or subject, yet he will be forced to leave some gleanings that he may return again to gather up, and those as pertinent and useful as he obtained at his first vintage-reaping: so just was that saying of Tertullian, I adore the fulness of the Scriptures. * On quoting the following passage, Heb. xi. 32, "For the time would fail me tell of Gideon;" he observed, that a minister must have respect, not only to what he should say, but to the time in which he is to speak or write it; all things cannot be spoken at one time. Christ taught as the people were able to bear; people, yea the best people have but a measure of attention, memory, or susceptibility. Good old Mr. Horrocks was wont to say, I would rather leave my hearers longing than lothing.

And as Mr. Angier constantly preached, so he carefully catechized the youth of his congregation, according to the Assembly's Shorter Catechism, and explained it, opening the principles of religion in a plain and familiar way; sometimes taking an account of their proficiency. If he heard of the breaking out of sin in any of his hearers, he faithfully admonished them privately, and sometimes publicly, and sometimes he sent for the persons and pleaded with them, with much gravity and humility and bowels of compassion. Ordinarily when strangers came to settle under his ministry, he sent for them, conversed with them, counselled, instructed, and exhorted them: thus he dealt with new married persons; and indeed God brought several from other places to fix themselves under his ministry, for the benefit of the ordinances.

His usual saying was, if God will help me to take care of my duty, I will leave him to take care of my comfort. His main design was to bring glory to God in the conversion of sinners, and edification of saints: the attaining of these ends was his reward; when any sent him tokens of their regard, he looked at God in it, and was more glad of it as an indication of their proficiency, than a means of his enriching himself. So Paul, Phil. iv. 17, "Not because I desire a gift, but I desire fruit that may abound to your account." Thus it is said of Bucholster: (Gratiam munerum, quam munera, et theologiæ fructum,

* Adoro Scripturæ plenitudinem.

quam fortunam maluit,) "He rather chose and accepted more cordially a kindness in the giving, than the greatness of the gift; being better pleased with the fruit of his ministry, than merely their bounty.

Mr. Angier was much conversant in the holy scriptures, they were daily his delight, and he had an excellent art in choosing and adapting texts to divine providences, so that the word of God might be a comment on his work. Seldom did any remarkable providence or sudden accident fall out, but he either made it the main subject of his discourse, or particularly applied to it something he had in hand. He had a singular skill in preaching funeral sermons; though he rarely made historical reflections on the dead, yet intelligent hearers might gather important instructions or admonitions from his doctrinal conclusions, and close application naturally resulting. He conducted himself with much reverence in God's public ordinances, minding duly what was in hand. He constantly wrote sermons when he was at any time a hearer, for example to others, to prevent wanderings of mind, and for his own edification. He was also full of candour and ingenuousness; though men's gifts were weak, yet if they were honest he would commend them. Never did any hear him despise or disparage others; but as he much desired to have young ministers preach with him, so if they missed in it, he would plainly and privately tell them of their slips, or encourage such as did well. What he spoke was from his heart; on what others spoke, he would put a candid construction, if it would admit of it. When the minister that preached for him came out of the pulpit, he usually met him with this salutation, "Thanks be to God" or "blessed be the Lord;" never returning thanks to the minister, (so far as I know) but to God for his help to the minister.

He was very excellent and exemplary in his administration of the Lord's supper, as it respected method, matter, and manner. That ordinance was celebrated every month, and he had many hundreds of communicants; especially in these late times, good people from all adjacent parts and counties came flocking thither, and there were feasted and refreshed. I have known many strangers come ten, some twenty miles, yea, some thirty miles, to attend on the ordinances at Denton; so that there were often more communicants than could sit on seats in the chapel, and officers went amongst them to see if there were no intruders; for either they were known by face to them, or had testimonials from approved ministers, or eminent Christians. His exactness, gravity, and enlargedness, were such, that the first time I partook there, a worthy gentleman bade me observe

him diligently, saying he is the exactest man in Lancashire in this work: and I thought young ministers might take notice of him as a pattern worthy of imitation. And O how many souls have been quickened, comforted, and nourished in that ordinance, in that place! what gracious words proceeded out of his mouth, and what gracious impressions have been made on communicants' hearts!

He was very diligent and pains-taking in his private studies, and very much enjoyed his closet retirements. It is true, he was not able to read much in his latter days, but he had variety of employment, sometimes reading, sometimes praying, meditating, writing: he wrote many choice and excellent letters—pithy, pertinent, profitable, upon several occasions, some of which he copied out, and were they collected into one entire volume they would be valuable. He often complained of his memory, saying he had a memory for nothing but to remember his own sermons; but indeed his memory was not to be slighted: however, his solid judgment, clear understanding in divine mysteries, and gracious, experienced heart, shone forth in all he did, and helped his invention, while continual exercise made his memory retentive, and strong affections especially carried him through all; for a sanctified heart hath never a bad memory.

He was of a holy, heavenly frame of spirit to eye God in all, and to improve all occurrences for spiritual advantage: the like instance of an exact conversation hath seldom been found; I was once riding along with him, and a minister of my acquaintance, whom I met, asked me who he was, being passed by I told him; he said, if there could be an angel on horseback I would say that is he: and a servant who lived with him many years, and knew his manner of life, attests that, according to his judgment, he walked as near to the rule of the word, and pattern of our Saviour, as is possible for a man to do on this side glory, excelling in every grace, exemplary in every good work, elevated above the ordinary rank of Christians, as it was said of Bucholtzer, as to liveliness: *Vivida in eo omnia fuerunt, vivida vox, vividi oculi, vividæ manus, gestus omnes vividi:** Voice, eyes, hands, gesture, all full of vivacity. Thus this man of God, Mr. Angier, did act above his strength and years in God's work and worship, and was so full of warmth and energy, that it plainly appeared he was actuated and animated with a spirit beyond his own, for God was with him, and he was much with God.

He was affable to all, amiable in converse with his intimate

* Melch. Ad. Vit. Buchol. page 556.

friends, frank in discovering himself, without subtle reserves or peevishness of spirit; he was so far as any could discern, ἀοργητος και ἀχολος, without anger or choler; howbeit his natural constitution being sanguine, might incline him to passion, yet the large measure of grace wherewith God had endowed him, and continual mortification, had so sweetened and lenified his disposition, that to all who conversed with him, he seemed to be compounded of love and kindness.

Besides he was a person of much gravity, his mildness did not degenerate into fondness or levity, nor his gravity into moroseness or austerity; but a kindly mixture of mildness, majesty, and attractive sweetness, put such an awful reverence into his countenance, as did at once daunt impudent profaneness, and animate religious modesty; none were so audacious as to be found in any unhandsome act before him whose very looks gave check to licentiousness, and none that knew him were afraid to open their spiritual cases to him, finding him so tender and condescending to them upon all occasions: indeed he was fruitful in holy discourse to all. Upon a question or case of conscience, he had the faculty to enlarge suitably and edifyingly to the satisfaction of the proposers; if company were silent, himself usually proposed a profitable question, or a proof of some principle of religion, or the meaning of some scripture, as matter of discourse for mutual edification: sometimes in travelling with a minister, he would request him (when the road was free) to repeat the heads of the sermon he preached or heard last.

He was exceedingly liberal to the poor, both in giving and free-lending; it was strange to observe how much he gave out of so little; he had a liberal hand and an open heart, he devised liberal things, making frequent collections in public, improving his interest for the indigent, or in public affairs: his left hand knew not what his right hand did; one instance take, when the collection was made for Northampton, 1675, he was then indisposed, and went not out for fourteen weeks or thereabouts, and therefore desired his kinsman to preach on 2 Cor. viii. 7, which he did, preparing the people in the morning for the collection in the afternoon; at which, because he could not be present, he sent his charity by his servant, which was not inconsiderable, but afterwards gave privately three times as much as he had done in public by his servant. In cases of collection, he would oft put on both his children and servants to give: he also sent to poor widows, orphans, and others, considerable sums, with a charge not to tell from whence it came. He had not above £20.

a year from his hearers; and though he had an estate of his own, yet all things considered, it may seem next to a miracle that he should so abundantly lay out, and possess any thing, when his layings in were so small: but God made good that promise, "There is that scattereth and yet increaseth; the liberal soul shall be made fat, and he that watereth shall be watered also himself," Prov. xi. 24, 25.

He was also very free in lending, and as free in forgiving and passing by unkindnesses. One instance particularly was this: when a neighbour (an indifferent husband for worldly matters) had borrowed money of him and broken his word, not paying it in, many months after promise of payment; instead of paying the old debt, he comes to beg a new favour, to borrow more money, which Mr. Angier lent him; and being asked why he would lend money to a man so dishonest and unfaithful, replied, that he did it to make a knave an honest man.

He was a man of much faith and courage in God's cause, and withal, of much prudence and discretion: his courage was the result of his faith, not so much of natural magnanimity. When the Act of Uniformity took place, and ministers generally concluded to give over, he kept his resolution to go on in his work, yet not censuring them that desisted, for he plainly saw that all ministers were not under the same circumstances: he continued in his public station without any considerable interruption, so that a discriminating Providence made little Denton a Goshen, and kept their fleece wet when others were dry in most places; it was a little sanctuary to many. It is true, warrants were now and then issued out, to apprehend Mr. Angier, but the worst men had no heart to meddle with him: sometimes they searched, and professed they would not see him for a hundred pounds. Some of the bishops of Chester would inquire of his son, how doth the good old man Mr. Angier? Most of the Justices had a great respect for him: some were nearly related to his wife, her eldest brother was Mr. Mosley of Ancoats, whose mother and another sister did sojourn many years with Mr. Angier. He thought also that his confinement at home, travelling and preaching little or not at all abroad, was a furtherance of his liberty: they said he is an old man and cannot live long, let him alone while he lives.

He was exceedingly exact and punctual in all that he did. If in worldly matters, bargains, writings, bonds, scalings, even in the smallest concerns wherein there was any danger of litigious suits or controversies, though it was between nearest relations, he caused things to be firmly done and safely kept, which in after times proved of great use; for he said, it doth no hurt to

have things done surely, and it may do good; for nobody knows into whose hands such things may fall, for men are mortal. He carefully laid up acquittances, receipts, or any agreements in writing, which have put things into readiness since his death. He was also exact in his apparel, ever neat, though never splendid; handsome, not gaudy; if he saw any facing or finery in others' apparel, he would say, I keep my satin in my pocket: he used to wear a Master of Arts' gown both Lord's days and week days, at home: he loved to see persons neat, and would say, one may be cleanly in rags: he shamed some out of their slovenliness with friendly rebukes.

He was given to hospitality, a bishop indeed, a Gaius, who freely entertained God's servants, ministers and Christians, so that he seemed to be host to the church: it is incredible to relate what variety of strangers and friends came weekly, almost daily to his house, and were handsomely treated, though not with varieties, yet with sufficiency: he had a standing table of wholesome fresh meat, noon and night. Upon Lord's days, his table always was well furnished with guests, (besides numbers that had broth, &c.) so that Mrs. Hyde of Norbury, a religious gentlewoman and a dear friend of his, would say to him, Mr. Angier, I am ready to think God works miracles at your table, in multiplying your provisions; for, said she, if I should set half as many people to more provision than you have, they would consume it all, but there is store taken off from your table: and himself hath oft said, that there is a blessing attendeth house-keeping, as if the supplies thereof were unaccountable. A worthy minister heard him once say, that he knew by experience, that little or much, it was all one, he had as much in his pocket, when he had not half so much means as he had then: as "riches increase, so they increase that eat."

His government and order of his family were admirable and imitable, I may truly say, unparalleled. His family was as a well disciplined army, where all know their proper stations, and carefully attend their post; or as a well conducted academy, or an organized church; it was usually numerous and regular. For a considerable season, he had several young scholars tabled with him, who were sent to him for education under his inspection, and God blessed his example, instructions, and prayers for the good of some yet living. Some that were capable, he put upon preaching one part of the day; several assistants he had successively, and gave them most of the encouragement they had. When he was grown into years, and not able to preach twice a-day, his brother's son was with him eleven years before his death, and was a great comfort to him.

Lord's day was thus spent: After private devotions in their closets, in the family, near eight o'clock a chapter was read, a psalm sung, then he went to prayer; and about nine o'clock they went to the chapel, which was but a few steps from his door, according to his wish and usual saying, "The priests went about the temple;" and at noon, immediately after dinner, one repeated the forenoon sermon in his house, at the same time another was repeating in the chapel to many people that stayed there, singing psalms both before and after; this continued till public ordinances began; and at their return home shortly after, Mr. Angier sung a psalm and went to prayer; then to supper, and a little season after supper, a psalm, and one repeated the afternoon sermon, and another psalm being sung, all was finished with a short prayer, and so the family were dismissed to their own apartments. For the rest of the week, servants so ordered their affairs as to be present at family prayer. On Monday night, the forenoon sermon of the preceding Lord's day, and on Saturday night, the afternoon sermon was repeated ordinarily in the family; on Friday night, they said their catechism, some in the shorter, others in the larger catechism drawn up by the Westminster Assembly, some also repeated the proofs *memoriter*. He gave order that they should despatch their worldly concerns the last day of the week, that they might prepare for the Lord's day approaching, which they did, and were outwardly conformable, for he would suffer no disorders in his family, yea, most of his family proved truly gracious; they were ordinarily kind and affectionate to one another, and lived many years in great peace, unity, and order; the whole number was often sixteen, generally about fourteen, seldom under twelve, though he had but one daughter with him for several years before he died. His carriage was sweet and obliging to all, even to the meanest in the family, and he behaved himself with such a dignified, yet amiable deportment, that many have been ready to speak of him and of his family concerns in the words of the Queen of Sheba, accounting them "happy that conversed with such a holy man of God," and though they had heard of his ways, yet the one half was not told them.*

Mr. Angier had many worthy friends, of good rank, and great piety, who bore a very high respect for him; and as David chose such as "feared God for his companions," so did this holy man take his delight in the saints, as "most excellent upon earth." Holy Mr. Henry Ashhurst sometimes visited him at his house, and was visited by him; Mr. Crew, of Utkin-

* 1 Kings x. 4—6.

ton in Cheshire, was his dear and intimate friend, and had an entire love for him, as the writer hereof can testify; for being at his house at Utkinton, and Mr. Crew shewing him and his wife some handsome pictures, hanging in a chamber, (in which he much delighted,) amongst the rest shewed him the picture of Dr. Wilkins, "who," said he, "is to be our bishop of Cheshire;" but added, "Mr. Angier is my bishop," and I have heard that Mr. Crew oft solicited Mr. Angier to sit while his picture was drawn, and he would be at the charge of it, but he put it off, saying, "a minister's picture should be in the hearts and lives of his people;" so far was he from pride, or vain-glory, that he never had his picture drawn, though doubtless it would have been a lovely figure, if to the life, for he was an exceedingly handsome personage, he was low in stature, and of a clear complexion, red and white, of a cheerful countenance, and very graceful, of a venerable aspect, and pleasant; but he judged the blessed fruits of a minister's labours were more eligible than the most lively representation of his vanishing exterior engraven in durable brass or marble.

His heart was much set upon the good of souls, and therein God blessed him with abundant success; and this was a considerable part of his reward. He sometimes related old Mr. Dod's interpretation of the labourers in the vineyard, Matt xx; "who," he said, "were ministers: some bargain with our Lord for their penny, that is, preferment, good parsonages, rich livings, high honours, and a splendid appearance in the world; God gives them these things, they are at present well pleased with them, and this is all that God designs for them, they have their bargain, it was all they asked, and our bountiful benefactor is not behindhand with them; they have no reason to grumble at his kindness to the other, who made no such bargain with him, but thought themselves obliged to him for work, and said, 'Lord, if thou wilt account me faithful, and put me into the ministry, and own me with the success of my labours, I will refer to thee the business of maintenance; I hope thou wilt not suffer me to want necessaries, and if thou dost, though I be persecuted, imprisoned, impoverished, and be put to beg my bread, yet if thou wilt glorify thyself thereby, and edify thy church by my outward distresses, I have enough;' such self-denying ministers shall have present supplies, and a better penny, good things in this life, and eternal happiness in the other; so *the last shall be first* in dignity, glory, and abundant reward, for he gives them more than they asked; and *the first shall be last*, those mercenary spirits who undertook the ministry as a trade to get a livelihood, must be put off with the

poor pittance of this world;" this exposition Mr. Angier mentioned as very interesting and significant, not however, determining whether it was the proper meaning of that scripture.

He much desired the propagation of religion, and for that purpose the education of young men for the ministry; he had but one son and four grandsons, who were all trained up for God's immediate service, some of them at his cost, and others on his counsel, and he followed them all with his incessant prayers, and thus indeed did his solicitous cares issue. And indeed if he had been without cares, he would not have prayed, as Melancthon * used to say; and if he had not given vent to his cares and fears by believing prayer, they would have overwhelmed him. He was one of the seed of Jacob in pleading the covenant, and in nothing more a true Jacobite than in wrestling with God for covenant mercy for the posterity of the faithful. Oh the tears, sighs, and groans of that man of God, urging God with his promise under his own hand; telling the Lord, he would not let him alone, for himself had encouraged his heart, by making and sealing that good covenant wherein stands our chief comfort; and that as God will make it good to some, why not to the children of the covenant? How often hath he told the Lord, even in our hearing, that he was resolved he would not let go that hold which God had given him; but would adhere to him, by faith and prayer, as long as he had a day to live, and die in hopes that God would make his promise good to his seed, when he was dead and gone?

His opinion was, that a young man intended for the ministry should be placed for some time with some able minister, and preach under his eye and ear, and that it was hazardous for beginners to live in great men's houses. He was of excellent use in giving advice to young scholars, in public and private. In the times when the sectaries were at the height, at an ordination at Manchester he gave the exhortation: four were ordained, and he said it rejoiced his soul to see in those discouraging times so many desirous of the calling, but, said he, it may be it is but as a husbandman with his harvest towards night, when he sees a storm coming, he calls out all that can carry a sheaf to come to his help, he musters all his force, for it may be there is but a short time; as coming in at the eleventh hour, leaves but one hour for work. He advised them to beware of two things: if, said he, as in the case of the prophet before Jeroboam, sometimes the hand of authority be lifted up against you, be not affrighted with it, that however may be dried up; but then the seducer may slay you; consent not to him.

* Si nil curarem, nil orarem.

He was wise and happy in his counsels, and usually, being a man of much observation, he had exceedingly appropriate instances to sanction his counsel, in this way: it is good for persons to submit to the Lord's hand, and to let him choose the rod for us. A woman in Manchester burying a daughter, for two years never looked up, but repined, came often to the grave to mourn over it, yet it was a child miserably infirm and scrophulous; afterwards God took away the use of her limbs, and lying in torturing pain, she acknowledged that it was nothing to bury a child: she thus became sensible of her impatience under her former affliction, and felt that now God had dealt more severely with her. And upon this, Mr. Angier mentioned an aunt of his, who had great bodily weakness and pain, and she desired that God would take that affliction away, and lay on her what affliction he pleased except that; the Lord did take that away, and laid affliction of spirit upon her, which was far more distressing, and she never recovered it while she lived. So to produce a persuasion that our affliction is best for us, be it ever so painful, he sometimes mentioned that Mr. Daniel Rogers' first wife was a very cross woman, and he bore a long time with her silently; at last he made his complaint to his father, Mr. Richard Rogers, and he gave him this answer, Any thing, Daniel, to bring thee to heaven.

He was very faithful in admonishing as he saw reason: when an eminent minister said, he took such a thing ill or unkindly from such a one, Mr. Angier gravely and smilingly answered, Would I so little favour myself as to take unkindness from any one? which, said that good man, I thought of since to my great advantage; for this taking unkindness is accompanied with a fretting within one's own breast, and so it is leaving the offender and falling upon one's self.

Mr. Angier was much afflicted with that sad war which broke out between the Dutch and us, yet he comforted himself with this consideration, that God did not give us over to be corrected by Papists, but that Protestants are in the hands of Protestants, though upon a distressing account, and he hoped that the drops of the storm might begin with there formed churches, but that its fury might be spent elsewhere.

It pleased the Lord to lay upon Mr. Angier many grievous and piercing afflictions in his old age, according to his own observation on John xxi. 18, concerning Peter, when our Lord told him, "that when he was old, he should be carried whither he would not." Mr. A. remarked that God often exerciseth his choicest servants, who have been men of eminent activity and usefulness in his service, with great afflictions in the latter part

of life, such as bodily pain: so Asa, when old, was diseased in his feet. * Melchior Adam tells us of Mr. George Major, that he saw the funerals of six sons, whereof one, that is Leonard, died by the biting of a mad dog; several daughters also, and a nephew died; in all this and much more, saying, (Si bona accepimus, annon mala sustineamus?) Shall we receive good, and not bear evil? At last he died of painful diseases, having kept his bed near three years. † Thus Mr. Angier instanced in Mr. Rogers of Dedham, who experienced great agony produced by gravel: so had worthy Mr. Storer of Stockport, and Mr. Johnson, minister of the same place; old Mr. Bourn, Mr. Herle, and, at that time when he mentioned it, good Mr. Harrison of Ashton, his neighbour. It may seem a riddle and an unaccountable mystery in Providence, why God should think fit to lay the heaviest load on the weakest horse; old age is a burden to itself. Mr. Angier assigned this reason, that thereby God thinks it fit to wean his children from the world, prepare them for heaven, and render it more desirable: besides God will make his children perfect Christians, exercised every way in suffering, that they may be entire, lacking nothing, according to James i. 4.

In old age his afflictions were, 1. The death of his beloved, amiable daughter Elizabeth, who though she was married and lived with her husband in Yorkshire, yet being in a deep consumption, he sent his own easy-going horse to fetch her home, in hopes that a change of air might tend to her recovery; but there she grew worse, and languishing, died May 26, 1661, and was laid by her own mother in Denton chapel-yard. Though her death went near his heart, yet being abundantly satisfied that she had got safe to heaven, he bore it with great composedness and equanimity; for indeed she was the mirror of her age for accomplishments and piety: yet it could not but be an affliction to his spirit, since so hopeful a blossom of his family was so quickly nipped in the flower of her age.

2. This also presaged more crosses. It was a great affliction to him that things went so ill with the church of God, as to public liberty, with which he sympathized though he enjoyed his. But himself too must taste a few drops of that cup of which many of his brethren had a large draught. On the Oxford Act coming into operation, March 24, 1665, by which the ministers were banished five miles from the place where they had formerly preached, it was judged expedient that he also should for the present withdraw from his house; on that act taking effect, he began to travel, and his son-in-law with him, amongst his

* 2 Chron. xvi. 12. † In Vit. Ger. Maj. page 179.

friends in Cheshire, and visited several persons of quality, lodging with them some weeks, being kindly treated and graciously entertained, being also very useful, and leaving his good counsels and blessing wherever he came; notwithstanding during that time he seemed to be out of his element, and longed to return home. He was compelled to return, for wearing his boots daily, a gouty humour seized on his foot; he then said, Come, son, let us trust God, and go home: so he returned to his own house, and continued there without further trouble.

3. He was very much afflicted with a disorder at his stomach, which sorely distressed him, and he could find no ease from it by any means he could employ: he was advised to use tobacco, but could never succeed.

4. His very dear wife's death about 2 years before his own, was a grievous and bitter affliction to him, with whom he had lived 32 years to his abundant satisfaction every way: and indeed she was an affectionate and desirable companion, very useful both in spiritual and temporal things, drawing evenly in the same yoke. She was of a truly christian temper: one thing I shall add of her, noted to my hand, as a peculiar privilege and rare amongst Christians, that God gave her early assurance of his love, and she said also, not long before her death, he had never withdrawn it from her all her time. This was very observable and far different from God's dealings with his former wife, of whom Mr. Angier said in some remarks left in writing on her life, that though God moved her heart to seek him from eight years of age, yet he never gave her settled assurance of his love while she lived. Behold the sovereign dealings of God with his own children! he, however, is infinitely wise in these cases.

5. But the great affliction, the very quintessence of his affliction, was the sin and miscarriage of some of his children: this, this cut him to the very heart, and lay as a constant load continually pressing on his spirit. His son, his only son, devoted to God, not only in christian profession, but ministerial function, miscarrying under such education, with such aggravations; this went so near to him, that such words dropped from Mr. Angier's lips, of bitter complaint to one related to him, as shewed his exquisite sensations under some burdens of that nature: though he had paid £400. for his son in a few years, to the injury of his own estate, yet he saw it did no good, and still that was all nothing in comparison of the dishonour to God by his extravagances. His friend said, Sir, God hath given you much grace, and he is resolved to exercise it. Ah, said he, but it is hard, very hard to bear: a strange word from such a man, but he could bear any thing better than sin, and especially in so near

a relation; as the angel of the Ephesian church, to whom it is said, Rev. ii. 2, 3, "Thou canst not bear them which are evil, yet hast borne, and hast patience, and for my name sake hast laboured, and hast not fainted." Oh sin, sin in dear relations against his dearest heavenly Father, cut him to the quick; and souls cast in the mould of feeling know what this means. But God bore up this good man's heart, (as he did David's) with hopes and confidence in the blessed covenant, that sure and well ordered covenant. This he adhered to, this he pleaded and depended upon living and dying; still he spoke well of God, and exercised himself in praising his name both in duties and discourses, owning in all crosses the hand of God, to whom he had devoted his all. These various experiences disposed him to compassionate others, and qualified him to encourage and counsel them; for (as was said) he could speak a word in season to quiet and mollify others' spirits under pressing burdens; he still said, hold up faith and patience, wait on God, and fear not, for he will overrule all for the best, to promote his own glory and your best good, the greatest spiritual advantage of his own people.

His usual practice was, on the evening before a fast day, to put his children and servants upon it, to direct them to set themselves seriously about the work of preparation; to search out and confess their sins. He used such means as might, by God's help, prove effectual to reformation both of himself and his family: and upon all such occasions of fasting or thanksgiving, it was his way to inquire concerning the fatherless and widows, and such as were in necessity, that something might be sent to them, for whom nothing was provided, as he often said.

Not long before he fell sick, he said to one who was with him, that he slept very little at night, adding, when I lie waking in my bed, I sometimes run over the course of my whole life; and if a penman were ready by me, I could relate many remarkable passages of God's providence about myself. His friend said, Sir, you would do well to write them down as they come into your thoughts: but he made no answer to that.

When money lent by him came in seasonably, though it was his own, yet he admired and thankfully owned God's providence in it, as if it had been a gift; and said, it is all one, whether it was a debt or a gift, if God only send it in a needful time; the paying of a debt is as great a mercy from God, as the sending of a gift.

I must now hasten to the last scene of this holy man's life. He longed to be with Christ, and our Lord had been long ripening him for glory. He loved his Master's work, and his

Master indulged him in his work: when others were taken off, he was wonderfully maintained in his lot. He did not of late years preach that day he administered the Lord's supper: the last Supper day was Aug. 12, 1677, and the next Lord's day after he preached one part of the day, Aug. 19, but when he came into his house, he laid his hand upon his breast, and said, Ah, this will not do, I must give over preaching; which yet cut him to the heart to anticipate. He was very weary that night, as he usually was; the next day but one after, he began to have some aguish fits, and had six or seven of those fits; from that time he began to decline apace. When this his last sickness commenced, he ordered his kinsman in the house to write letters to Mr. Case, his brother-in-law Mr. Tuckney, his brother Bezaleel, and others, to acquaint them with his circumstances, hoping for and desiring their prayers. He daily expected his own son's coming out of Lincolnshire, but he came not while he was living. He ordered his son-in-law to be sent for; a messenger was despatched to him, but though he hasted away towards him, yet he came not till this holy man of God had breathed his last. A few hours before, on the same day, his approaching dissolution came on apace, yet had he the free exercise of his understanding to the last, and as he had been a man of prayer all his days, so he died praying. The morning that he died, he prayed sensibly; the last words which were intelligible, were his request for the king and council, but the particular words those who were about him could not distinctly hear.

The last day of the week, Sept. 1, 1677, was the last day of that worthy man's life; he died about eleven o'clock, and entered into his rest near the Sabbath, a day of rest; from henceforth to rest from all his weary labours, and to keep an eternal sabbath with his dearest Lord. It was his own observation, that God often takes home his ministers and people on or near his holy day, to perfect their graces, and give them rest.

Thus fell that bright star, thus set that shining sun in the firmanent of the church, or rather was hidden from our eyes, to shine more gloriously in the upper region; the wise (that is, wise virgins, members of Christ's mystical body,) or, as the word is, Dan. xii. 3, "Teachers of others shall shine as the brightness of the firmanent, and they that turn many to righteousness, as the stars for ever and ever." Thus this pillar is taken down that bore up an incredible weight not discerned so well then, as felt daily by sad experience since his removal from under the fabric: thus is the plant of renown transferred into a better soil. This ancient tree of God's own planting, which had sheltered many with its shadowing foliage, and fed many

with its grateful fruit, is at last fallen by the stroke of death, yet bears both ripe and plentiful fruit in the heavenly paradise above. He that uttered words of life to others, is dead: he that by the grace of God quickened others, is himself struck dead. Dead, said I? no, he is but asleep; "the sting of death" was gone, the fear of death was vanished. He lived a holy life—he died a happy death: he lived desired, and died lamented; he lived to a good old age. Himself would sometimes say, that he had lived two years beyond the age of man, for he died in the seventy-second year of his age, in the same month wherein he was born: he died in his own house, the house belonging to the chapel, to which he had been a great benefactor: he died amongst his own people, over whom he had been pastor forty-five years; with whom he had been travailing, weeping, fasting, praying; among whom he has left remarkable seals of his ministry. Some indeed are gone to heaven before him, and some in other places had benefited by his ministry, though but occasional; one instance I had from a very eminent divine, in or near the city of London, that he being a young scholar newly come from Oxford, and being occasionally at Mr. Case's house, when Mr. Angier was there, Mr. A. went to prayer; but God so reached and warmed the young minister's heart by that prayer, that he has cause to remember it while he has a day to live, and hopes he shall never forget it; it had even influence upon others related, who from that time became as useful and successful instruments of God's glory and the good of souls, as any I have heard of in these later times.

The whole nation and church of God seem much clouded by the obscuring of this bright star, but especially the congregation at Denton is sadly eclipsed; their valley of vision, at least, is turned into a valley of division: oh, that it may not also prove a valley of treading down, and desolation! Ah, what lamentation was there at his funeral! among the rest, an aged Christian came from the grave into the house where the ministers were sat after the funeral, with a trembling frame, weeping eyes, and a doleful voice of sad complaints, saying: "Ah, sirs, what must we do! what must we do! our loving pastor is gone, our loving pastor is gone." And now that good man himself is gone also, and many others; thus as it is said, John iv. 36, "He that sowed, and they that reaped are rejoicing together."

That Lord's day when Mr. Angier's corpse lay in his house, two ministers preached in his chapel two funeral sermons, the one seeming to be a funeral sermon for the people, the other had a reference to their minister. That which concerned the

people held out an ominous presage of the death of their gospel privileges, and the sun-setting of their glorious day, sadly predicted from Gen. vi. 3, "My spirit shall not always strive with man:" and oh, what a dreadful verification of that text hath providence made there! that being the last sabbath that an ejected minister enjoyed the liberty of ordinances in that place. The other minister discoursed agreeably and suitably on John xvii. 4, "I have glorified thee on earth, I have finished the work thou gavest me to do."

That sermon was a lively comment on the good man's holy life, and a fair copy set before his surviving people; the perfect precepts in the scriptures, and lively pattern set before them for their imitation, make it apparent that gospel rules are practicable, may be transcribed by some, and will be a sad testimony against others: and though Mr. Angier's mouth be now closed in the dust, and his voice shall no more be heard in his pulpit, yet, O that Almighty God who lives for ever would awaken carnal sinners by this astounding blow, and propagate religion in that place! O that by his blessed Spirit he would transfuse the doctrines, principles, and practice of that good man into all his hearers! for they shall one day know, that "there hath been a prophet among them."

The next day, being Sept. 3, 1677, the funeral solemnities were mournfully observed, on which occasion, multitudes of persons, gentlemen, ministers, relations, and christian friends, besides his hearers and sad neighbours, attended the dismal and sorrowful obsequies with agitated hearts and dejected countenances, lamenting not only the loss of such a worthy pastor and friend, but their own minds suggested strong grounds for presaging fears concerning the consequences which might result from that heavy blow. His corpse was decently interred in Denton chapel, in the alley before the pulpit, near the body of his last wife.

On his tombstone is the following inscription:—

Here lieth the Body
of
Mr. JOHN ANGIER,
the late most
pious and faithful Pastor,
of this
CONGREGATION,
who rested from all his Labours,
Sept. 1st, 1677,
in the
Year of his Age, 72.
Ministry, 49; at Denton, 46.

Mr. Angier had requested Mr. Robert Eaton (a learned, pious minister who had married his kinswoman,) to preach the funeral sermon, and had given him that text to insist upon, in Acts xx. 32, "And now, brethren, I commend you to God, and to the word of his grace, which is able to build you up, and to give you an inheritance among them which are sanctified." It was an excellent, seasonable, and pathetic discourse, and well worthy of being annexed to this Narrative, if the esteemed Author had judged it fit: however, the solemnities of that day will not soon be forgotten.

Thus the best must die; Zech. i. 5, *Your fathers, where are they? and the Prophets, do they live for ever?* The holiest men cannot plead for an exemption, or expect Enoch's privilege of a translation: only to the pious believer death's sting is plucked out, this swelling Jordan is driven back, the passage is rendered easy and safe to the heavenly pilgrim. God brought this faithful servant, through a long and boisterous sea, to a safe harbour in a seasonable time, and if we embark in the same vessel of the church, and have our Lord Jesus with us, as our faithful and skilful pilot, though in storms and tempests, he being as it were asleep, yet believing prayer will awake him, and he will rebuke the winds and sea, and there shall be a calm, and the ship shall presently be at land, and the passengers shall be safe.

After having finished the Narrative of Mr. Angier's Life, there are yet two things remaining, which shew something of the breathings of his gracious soul, living and dying.

1. There are some remarkable things collected out of his own diary, under his own hand.

2. His dying sayings and admonitions to those about him in his last sickness.

Both these indicate much of divine grace, and manifest the holy exactness of his serious and christian disposition.

The first is a considerable paper, respecting his frame of spirit in his younger days, and reviewed and revised in his advanced years; it runs thus: I do now seriously resolve, between God and my own soul, to read his word diligently, morning and evening, before private prayer thereto adjoined, and do design to be constant in respect of time to be allotted for the purpose; namely, in the morning before chapel time, if it may be with convenience, or otherwise without delay when I return

from the chapel; at night, between five and six of the clock, if extraordinary occasions hinder me not, because then my spirits being fresher than after supper, I shall be the fitter to do God acceptable service. I do likewise resolve to be diligent in my study every day, for the space of six hours at least, no day to be over-slipped without the full completion of them. I likewise promise faithfully to God and my own soul, to refrain as from the common sins of the time, to wit, drunkenness, licentiousness, or the like, so to strive against those sins I am by nature most addicted to; and for the prevention of the like faults, to shun all the occasions thereunto leading, enticing, or provoking; as bad company, unchaste conversation, or sensual indulgence, the which that I may perform according to God's will and pleasure, I renounce all dependance on my own abilities, and fly to his infinite mercy, desiring his special help and assistance, his Spirit to instruct me, his Spirit to direct me, his Spirit to sanctify me, that I may be kept blameless, being without spot till the day of his appearance. My desire hath been, is, and shall be upon my bended knees for the furtherance of these intentions, begun and kindled by his holy Spirit, which I hope will cherish them till they flame into a holy fire of heavenly conversation, a life of virtue, the glory of grace.

Written with my own hand, April 6th, 1625.

JOHN ANGIER.

Perused with comfort, May 1st. 1655.

July 19th, 1657. I found a paper in my study, of May 9, 1626; a bill of physic, when I was in a fever at Cambridge, about thirty-one years since, so long hath God lengthened out my life.

My going to New England was very forward, Mr. Newman earnestly invited me; I received letters from Bristol, April 2, 1630, to say, that I was expected there to take shipping for N. E. this April, and had much kindness offered me; yet the Lord over-ruled it.

Upon the coming on of troubles, I had comfort from Zeph. ii. 3, "It may be, ye shall be hid in the day of the Lord's anger." Josiah's mercy was, not to see the evil; Jeremiah's mercy, to be secured in the midst of seeing it. My wife died Dec. 12; one night after her death, the children were in the parlour praying together; and hearing a noise, I went to the door, and heard my son at prayer with his sister; he acknowledged to God that they had disregarded father and mother, contrary to God's command, and therefore God had taken away

their mother; he desired God that they might not provoke him by their sin to take away their father also; which did much affect me.

Upon a recovery from a sickness unexpectedly, I was much affected with Isa. xxxiii. ult. and in prayer the Lord brought to my mind Matt. viii. 9; affliction is God's servant, if he bid it come, it comes; if he bid it go, it goes.

At Bolton, I was sent for to visit a pious man who was ill at Great Leaver, found him in a comfortable frame; he told me he received his first religious impressions by my ministry at Denton, preaching on 1 Cor. v. 7, "Christ, our passover is sacrificed for us," ten years ago. Blessed be God, who gave me this encouragement. He notes in the margin, "The fruits of my labours manifested ten years after."

Nov. 30, —47. A day of thanksgiving was kept with some friends for the recovery of a child that had been sick; it should seem, they were on a journey, and had small hopes of recovery; the very same day they prayed, the child revived at night, and gathered strength on the journey sensibly; they were by the sickness of the child detained against their own minds, and the minds of the people; but God had a special hand in it; for he sent the pestilence into the family where they were to sojourn, and had they gone at the time proposed, they had gone into an infected house, and had been shut up there.

June 18, —71. God gave rest to our aged afflicted mother, about three in the afternoon, it being Lord's day. It is observable, that the day after God took away our mother, and our supply from her failed, God sent me notice of some supply out of my own estate, as he had formerly done, Phil. iv. 19.

Nov. 19, —72. Died good bishop Wilkins, a great loss; he died comfortably, and rejoiced in his moderation whilst he was bishop. His death was much lamented in the city of Chester.

Aug. 22, —73. Upon hearing that Mr. Case going from home four or five days and returning, found himself robbed to a great amount, he subjoins, Psal. lxxiii. 26, "God a portion for ever."

Oct. 28, —75. Reviewing the circumstances of his wife's death, he states Oct. 25, she said, that in the beginning of her weakness, she was something troubled, because she was taken off her employment, and could do nothing; she was concerned about the affairs of the family, and concerning me, that she should leave me in such a condition. But now God had subdued her will, and quieted her heart, she knew not what direction to give, but she had left all with God, and her heart was

tranquil, she had no trouble at all. She told me one night, that she thought God sent Hannah Angier into the family to teach her how to die. This was a grand-child of his that came from London, weak, and reached Denton with much difficulty, and soon died of a consumption.

About a year before Mr. Angier died, upon a day of thanksgiving for God's great mercy to his kinsman in an easy journey, his heart being much affected with providences of God, he took occasion to leave upon record in his diary, these observable circumstances to heighten God's praises, and quicken his own and others' hearts in them.

Mercies on a Journey, 1673.

1. Direction in the right way; want of this causeth wandering, and sorrow, Psal. cvii. 7.

2. Preservation of man and beast, of life and health, from falls and harm, from enemies, robbers, and murderers. Some have died in the way, as Rachel, others fallen sick by the way, as 1 Sam. xxx. 13. It is mercy when God enables a traveller to endure heat and cold; for a horse to die or be lame in the way, is a great affliction; so a daily supply of new strength is mercy.

3. Comfort in the way, and weather, when both are good, and company is suitable and agreeable.

4. Convenient places for rest, and good refreshment for noon and night.

5. Seasonable provision of necessary food, and cheerful entertainment.

6. Temporary ease from the burden of domestic affairs, cares and labours; the mind and body, both are relieved, others take the burden upon them for a time.

7. Variety of objects to delight the sense, fair buildings, fruitful fields, pleasant meadows.

8. Change of air, pleasantness and healthfulness there, from refreshing gales in the heat of the day.

9. The society of friends whom we visit, and the mutual comfort that ariseth from meeting after a time of absence, and from friendly and interesting conversation.

10. Opportunity of understanding more fully how God hath answered our prayers for them: opportunity of spiritual assistance, of doing and receiving good by social prayer, and conference, by relating experience, and stirring up one another to what is good.

Behold, what excellent use a gracious heart, and sanctified fancy can make of those common affairs which many of us

pass over without any particular attention. See what a notable sense he had of God's goodness in every thing, to raise up durable monuments of God's glory, with such pleasing inscriptions thereon, as may at once both glorify God, and edify men.

When he travelled himself (as he often did) to London, Essex, &c. he was wont to write down providential occurrences daily; and upon his return, to collect the sum of them, and to spread them before such neighbours as united with him in thanksgiving, partly to help them to special matter of praise, but chiefly that God might lose no part of the glory which was due to him.

A very reverend and worthy brother, who was intimately acquainted with Mr. Angier, hath contributed some notices of his own personal knowledge concerning Mr. Angier's excellency in giving counsel in difficult cases of conscience, wherein he had occasion to consult him. The following case is given as a specimen:—

In 1654, a worthy young minister, of excellent acquirements and piety, tabled in a house near the place where he was then minister, with a gentlewoman of serious piety, of good birth and education, at full years of discretion, being thirty-three years of age, having £800. to her portion, and so in her own hands that none could hinder her of it: these two, after a long acquaintance with each other, desired to marry, on principles of religion, wherein they agreed; but there was a mother in the case, of another temper, not religious; she had married a second husband and took no care at all of her daughter, but rather shewed her inclination for her daughter's marrying a rich man, though of little religion; indeed the less religion, they thought, the better it would please her; so they doubted much of obtaining her consent: the case proposed was, Whether her consent must be necessarily obtained, or no marriage, 1. When only a mother, and she married to another, who was diminishing the children's estates, and that with the mother's consent? 2. When the mother is before prejudiced against a good man, and most of all against a minister? 3. The daughter of such an age? 4. Hath her estate at her own disposal? &c. This case was sent to three reverend men, and to Mr. Angier; his answer I shall transcribe:—

Dear Sir,

It will not be troublesome to me but give me pleasure, if by the help of God I may reach forth any the least assistance to you, or any friend of yours that desires to guide his way right. I do pity your friends, fearing it may be an hour of

temptation to them, and a cause of great affliction, especially if their affections be much engaged, which their living together indicates; my advice in this case is, that the gentleman make use of some friend or friends to the mother, that have influence with her, to gain her consent; and if he have no temporal estate equal to hers, or cannot increase it; yet to signify that he seeks the party more than the portion, and to offer this evidence of it, to agree that the portion be laid out for her use, and the use of her children, if she should have issue. If friends cannot prevail, the daughter may do well (and it is a very hopeful way,) humbly to desire her mother's consent in her own person: if by neither of these likely and due means they can prevail, I desire they may be urged still to pray, and wait upon the Lord of spirits, who knows his own counsels, and can secretly incline all spirits to comply therewith. I cannot advise them to marry without the mother's consent obtained, unless she has formerly set her daughter at liberty, and delivered her into her own power. For, 1. The mother hath authority over the child as well as the father, an authority of her own, a joint-authority with the father given of God; "Honour thy father and mother;" an authority founded in nature; and though the father be dead, and the portion be in the child's hands, according to the last will, and his authority be ceased; that takes not away the authority of the mother, which was included in the father's, but always distinct; and therefore some wills, in bequeathing a portion to be paid at marriage, do make the reasonable consent of the mother a just condition. 2. It may be, the mother hath just reason to deny her consent; amongst others, the want of temporal means, (if that be wanting) which is a greater defect in ministers' circumstances than usually in others, because they having large spiritual grace, and living at the height thereof, or beyond, their wives at their death fall so much lower than others by how much they live higher; the mother may say, she will provide a match where piety and portion meet. 3. If the mother should unreasonably deny her consent; yet we must not run into what we have had so much experience of in later times, to right ourselves by force and violence, but seek a remedy in a regular way. 4. If the mother be carnal, and they religious, they must be afraid to lay a stumbling-block before her; and though the scandal will not be so great, being to live in another country; yet it will be too great if to any, especially if to a mother, whose soul's good the daughter is bound to seek in a special manner, and to seek by all good means.*

* The matter of scandal seems to create most difficulty, whether, if providence dispose of the minister in another country, this may not be some relief to that, is queried?

5. To marry without consent of the mother at best is not a clear case, but dark and doubtful, and will give an advantage to temptation assailing tender consciences: in consequence of which, if their expectations be crossed one in another, or God send afflictions, their burden will be much increased; because this question will soon be moved, Whether they did well to marry without or against consent? 6. If children be left to their own liberty; yet the duty they owe to their parents' comfort, and the greater judgment and experience of their parents, do justly challenge their humble desires of their counsel, their serious deliberation thereupon, and great unwillingness to match without their reasonable consent. Advise your friends seriously to consider, whether they have not gone out of God's way in engaging their affections mutually, before consent sought; if the Lord shall help them herein to repent, it will be a foundation for after mercy; the truly pious are apt to miss it far on these occasions; but grace will not allow it when God makes a discovery. Thus I have freely imparted my thoughts to you in this case, beseeching God to clear the paths of all his servants, especially his ministers, who are to carry the light before the people, I rest,

Yours in all brotherly offices,

Jan. 22, 1654. JOHN ANGIER.

He received the opinion of others as well this, yet he was mightily taken up with Mr. Angier's counsel; for he saith, "Upon the receipt of your letter, and Mr. Angier's advice in it, 'To pray, and wait upon the Lord of spirits, who could sweetly incline all spirits to comply with his counsels;' though I had prayed daily for it, yet I was put on to a more earnest begging of that mercy, in much more faith and hope, that the Lord would so incline spirits." And about a week after, he received the news, that the gentlewoman had by an humble letter to her mother on this account, succeeded so far, that the mother yielded to leave her to her own disposal.

In a little time after, he was settled as a minister in London, and married, but soon fell into a fever, and into the small-pox, whereof he died; and particular friends understood that he was seized with great melancholy and trouble, which it was thought hastened his death; and it was judged it was occasioned by excessive travelling that had given him a surfeit; but if this matter of consent had been doubtful, what work would it have made with him in such a condition? According to the prudent suggestion of the fifth reason of Mr. Angier's answer.

His counsel was asked in many important cases, and his advice was kind, and usually safe, being grounded upon the word of God, having the advantage of a holy heart, a clear head, and long experience. A second instance may be subjoined. His advice to a minister, who consulted him about removing to another place, where there was more advantage in a pecuniary light, and greater probability of doing good. His answer by letter was in the negative, saying, "I bless God that such temptations do drive you and your people to God, the establisher of Zion. It was an expression of Dr. Tuckney's to me, 'It is ill transplanting a tree that thrives in the soil.' Think upon our Saviour's expression: 'When I sent you without scrip or staff, lacked you any thing? and they said nothing.' Be not solicitous about your means, or the certainty of it; but apply your soul to the work, and God's secret will be upon your tabernacle." The minister fixed his staff where he was, according to Mr. Angier's example and advice, and never repented of it.

Dying Sayings and Admonitions.

I hasten to the last scene of his life, and the gracious words that proceeded from him; for as he lived, so he died; his discourses were holy and heavenly, ministering grace to the hearers; "His mouth spoke wisdom, his tongue talked of judgment; for the law of his God was in his heart."* The nearer approaches he made to heaven, still the more he breathed of heaven; and though many things, most of what he then spoke escaped the memory of spectators or bystanders, yet the following gleanings have been committed to writing.

On Thursday, August 16, 1677; being in a shaking fit, he was more free in discourse than ordinarily he had been, and said, "I find myself weak and feeble, and now think as much on my dear wife, as at the very first; but God employed means to wean me by her long affliction." To a mother, he said, "Be not sharp or rash with your children, lest their affections be alienated; when they commit a fault, stay a while till your anger be over, and then counsel and admonish them, maintain affection in them, as well as your authority over them."

"If it please God, I should be glad to live to see the good of the church, and of my children; if not I shall die in the belief, that God will remember them when I am gone; it may be, then they will bethink themselves, when they have not me to depend upon. God can soon alter their temper if he please."

To a young woman that lived in his family, he said, "As

* Psalm xxxvii. 30, 31.

you have lived here many years, and by God's help have been of some use, I am glad you are going into so good a family, who are children of the covenant; for 'the mercy of the Lord is upon thousands of them that fear him;' and though you may meet with afflictions, yet I hope God will do you good, and help you to bear them." This was a true prediction, for God laid a heavy hand of affliction upon her husband, and then took him away by death, under some extraordinary and aggravating circumstances, known to the neighbourhood; yet, God supported her very graciously.

Concerning himself, he said, "God hath made my condition comfortable in the world: I have lived comfortably, and have kept that which my father left me; he left me a good portion, thinking, it may be, that I should never be likely to get much in the world. I have left it, or what is equivalent, to my children, and if they make it away, the will of the Lord be done. This is my comfort, I have left no means unused, that I thought might be for their good; and it may be, God may bring them into straits, when I am gone; and when he hath brought them into the wilderness, speak to their hearts."

"My good child Betty! God took away poor Betty! But why should I call her poor? she is rich, being with her best friend; I have had much grief for the loss of my dear wife, she was dear to me, but her happiness I could never yet envy."

"God hath in some measure given me an humble heart, and hath helped me to conduct myself humbly in my place, to children and to servants; let God have the glory, in whom alone I have comfort."

One said to him, "Sir, what do you apprehend of yourself?" he said, "I know not, but I have lived almost two years above the age of man; and if God have any further work for me to do, he will recover me; and if not, why should I desire to live? I have taken great pains all my life, and never desired to live an idle life, or a life of pleasure, 'But for me to be with Christ is far better; henceforth is laid up for me a crown of righteousness, which the Lord, the righteous Judge will give me."

His next fit was on Saturday, Aug. 25. Being very restless, one asked him, where his pain lay? he said, "no great pain, but heat is pain enough; he asked, what time of the day it was? they said ten o'clock; he said, the day goes slowly on, when one is ill; but when well, we think time goes too fast."

At another time he said, "God hath set back the time, as in Hezekiah's days; but, said he, if I could go to chapel tomorrow, I should think all well; however, I have no hope of that, but if God hath a favour to me, he will bring me back,

and shew me both the ark, and his holy habitation; if not let him do what seemeth him good."

His daughter coming into the room, he said, "Oh that I could see my children walking in God's ways and fear! if I could see my son, his wife and children, minding the best things, and walking with God, I could die with comfort. I very much desire that I could live to see it; I have prayed, and long waited for God's salvation. 'And thou, Solomon my son, know thou the God of thy father, and serve him with a perfect heart, and with a willing mind, for the Lord searcheth all hearts, and understandeth all the imaginations of the thoughts; if thou seek him, he will be found of thee; but if thou forsake him, he will cast thee off for ever,'" 1 Chron. xxviii. 9.

Aug. 27. Early in the morning, after a restless night, and many weary tossings, being unable to lie still, he said, "my strength is spent, and added, I may say as Hezekiah, I am oppressed, Lord, undertake for me," Isa. xxxviii. 14.

To his cousin, he said, "we must not decline God's service for difficulty."

On Tuesday, Mr. Constantine, a worthy minister, coming to visit him, he desired him to pray with him; and being asked, whether it was not fitter for him to pray for him in another room, because the physcians advised him to forbear company; he said, "no, but let him pray with me;" yet to prevent tediousness, he told them this anecdote of Mr. Horrocks, which he had often mentioned in his health. When Mr. Horrocks was sick, Mr. Angier came to visit him just as Mr. Pike, another honest minister, was gone out from him; Mr. Horrocks said, Mr. Angier, you must pray with me; but Mr. Pike has killed me with a long prayer. When Mr. Constantine was gone, Mr. Angier said, "in sickness we are willing to send for the physician of the body, and should not we send for the physician of the soul? ministers are the soul's physicians; we need their help."

That night he desired that James v. 13, to the end, might be read; and when it was read, said, "Physicians of the body say, let not the minister pray with the sick; but the apostle saith, 'is any sick among you? let him send for the elders of the church.'"

When prayer was done, he said, "What a mercy it is! my understanding is as good as ever in all my life;" one said to him, Sir, I think you understand every thing well, but your own weakness; he answered, "I am sensible of weakness and weariness, and burnings; but what a mercy is it, that though my bones are vexed, my soul is not sore vexed also, as David's was! I bless God, I am not afraid of death, yet what I may be I

know not; Satan may tempt me when his chain is lengthened." One said, no doubt, you will not want peace; he answered, "I know not that; though Satan could find no sin in our Saviour, yet he may find matter enough in me; and added, that he had not in his health been altogether free from Satan's temptations, he had met with his temptations both in a married and single condition.

The same night, while one rubbed his feet, he said, "what a wonderful mercy is it, that the great God should think upon, and bestow his love upon such a poor worm as I am?" This he spoke weeping; "then," said he, "I die, but God shall be with you, saying, I cannot leave you a greater comfort than the gracious presence of the great God:" he then added, "Blessed and holy is he that hath part in the first resurrection, on such, the second death hath no power." His feet being cold and sweating, one rubbed them; he said, "my body is weak and feeble, an old tree will soon wither, but it must be cherished, and be tenderly cared for, as well as the soul; for it is 'the temple of the Holy Ghost,' and doth keep in it an immortal soul, for a while."

Although the fetters of death were on him; yet he said, "blessed be the Lord, I feel no pain, but your cold hand; I would wait on God for a little sleep. Lord, I wait on thee, remember thy covenant, and thy word to thy servant, which I have hoped for, and which hath been my support and strength in my affliction; through thy strength I have been doing thy will, and endeavouring to keep thy commandments, although in much weakness; now Lord, remember, thy own servant, do thy own work, make good thy own words; I believe in thee, I hope and wait for thee, hear the prayers of thy servant, come, Lord Jesus." Then, said he, "I love Christ, and he loves me, and there is no love lost between us; I am his, and he is mine, and my desire is towards him."

One being present with him from Manchester, he asked about all his friends and acquaintance there, and desired to be remembered to them, charging them to live in love and peace; he said, "entreat them to pray to God for me, and that will do me more good than their presents;" and being told that many of the people of God were praying for him, he said, "who am I, a poor creature, that God's people should be so concerned for me! I fear, lest they should offend in being too earnest with God for my life, for who knows but the Lord may hear prayers, and may bring me back from the grave, as he is wont to do?"

Afterward, he perceiving that others did suppose death near, he desired the forty-eighth chapter of Genesis to be read, "where,"

he said, "old Jacob blessed his sons, and the forty-ninth, where, after he had spoken to them by a spirit of prophecy, and commanded them, he gathered up his feet, and yielded up the ghost, and was gathered unto his people." And when they had done reading, he spake to them one by one, and prayed for a blessing for them; kissing the children, he took leave of them, and desired a psalm to be sung, and he said, sing it cheerfully, Psalm xlv. It contains Christ's love to the church, and the church's love to Christ.

Then he appointed his grandson to read a chapter, Jer. xxiii. "It concerns," saith he, "slothful shepherds: God's soul abhorred them, and he will curse their labours; they shall not profit the people; they are fit for no use;" adding, "God will make a besom, and sweep all such out of his house; no man," said he, "will keep a tenant who will not till his land, but let his house and ground go to ruin: God will take special care of his house."

Then he said, "John, take counsel at your best friends, they will give you good advice, and set you a good example; meddle not with wicked, light, vain persons; remember the words of your dying grandfather;" next he desired the 14th of John to be read, concerning sending the Spirit.

Then he prayed earnestly for the church, that God would hear the prayers of his people, and return to these nations, and set at liberty his ministers and people. "Oh," said he, "that God would magnify the riches of his grace, for his poor church, for the sake of Christ; we are indeed an unworthy people; but thy Son died to purchase the pardon of sin and reconciliation, and is seated at thy right hand, pleading our cause: Father, hear him for us, and be at peace with us. Remember what hath been done and suffered for reformation, and the precious blood of thy saints which hath been shed—this is the seed of the church: remember the prayers of such as are now with thee, and of such as are yet alive, in behalf of their seed and the seed of thy church, and fetch in such as are going astray from thee, and put a stop to them in their course of sin; rebuke that profane spirit which is gone out into the nation; revive the work of reformation, of tenderness of conscience, and brokenness of heart, that sometimes thy people have had; remove hardness of heart, and that lukewarm spirit which hath seized upon us: Return, O Lord, to the many thousands of those that are seeking thee in these nations: how long, Lord, wilt thou be angry with thy people in these nations, and deny an answer to their prayers? O Lord, thy poor people have many years been pleading with thee for the king's majesty; make him indeed a Josiah, a nursing

father to thy church; make him a terror to evil doers, and an encouragement to them that do well. Father, thy people are waiting on thee, when wilt thou return to thy poor, broken, scattered flock? Lord, humble them for sin which hath provoked thee to this great heat of thy wrath; thou hast mercy in store, and waitest to be gracious, but we are not prepared for mercy: but, Lord, make thy people fit; thou hast bid us 'ask what we will in thy Son's name, and thou wilt give it.' Lord, increase our faith, and work for thy great name and thy own glory; advance thy Son's kingdom and bring down the kingdom of Satan; purify the church, but destroy it not. Thou hast appeared for thy church many times when it hath been very low, and thy people have sinned grievously against thee, as we have done, and thereby brought themselves into straits, yet thou hast heard their cries, and wrought for thy name, that it should not be polluted. Zion lies in the dust, thy church is sore broken; many of thy servants are gathered to thyself, they are not to be seen or heard any more in this world; their prayers are ceased that stood in the gap to turn away thy wrath from us. Lord, revive conversion-work; let not the womb of thy church be barren and unfruitful; is thy work quite done? O Lord, art thou resolved to leave this nation? hast thou not many souls yet to be brought in? Dear Father, hear thou the prayers of parents for their poor children; do not cast off the seed of thy church; let them not be as unfruitful branches that are fit for no use, but to burn. Lord, prevent popery and idolatry; let us not leave our children worse than our parents left us; let there be pure doctrine, worship, and discipline in thy house according to thy mind; continue the privileges purchased with the blood of thy Son, for the use of thy church, of which thy people stand in so much need, that we and our posterity may praise thee, and future generations may place their hope in God, and declare what thou hast done."

And for the congregation he said, "Thine they were, and thou hast committed them to me, thy poor servant; for these forty-six years I have been labouring among them; according to the poor ability thou hast bestowed on me, I have endeavoured to bring them over to thee; now I am no more to be with them; Father, I commit them to thee again, as I have done many a time; take thou the charge of them, see to them, provide for them; double thy Spirit on thy servant; bless his labours among them; let many souls be brought into thy kingdom of grace and made fit for the kingdom of glory; let thy word abide with them; Lord, tarry with thy people here, send down thy Spirit so freely, so plainly, so fully:" these last words he often repeated.

These were the workings of his gracious heart, vented towards God in heavenly ejaculations, and uttered in such broken expressions. He was restless, and in several postures. One said, "Sir, are you not sore pained?" he said, "No, blessed be God, I feel no pain, but the flesh will stir."

On Wednesday night, about two o'clock, Aug. 29, 1677, he began to speak thus: "I commit myself into the hands of that God, who gave me my being, who has been a gracious God, and a kind Father to me, and into the hands of Jesus Christ my Saviour, who loved me and gave himself for me, who bare the burden of my sins, and sanctified me wholly in soul, body, and spirit. And for my children who have been a great grief of heart to me, who have been very sinful; good Lord, pardon their sins through the blood of Jesus. For my son that hath greatly played the prodigal, hedge up his way with thorns, and make a stone wall, bring him to such straits that he may begin to bethink himself, and say, 'In my father's house is bread enough,' that at last he may return. For my children's children, Lord, I commit them into thy hands, and all my dear friends and their children. And for my people, whom I received from thy hands, to take care of and instruct, to preach thy word unto, and to pray for; Lord, thou knowest that in some measure of uprightness of heart I have done it, and in some measure my life hath been according to my doctrine. Lord, forgive the sins of my life, the sins of my ministry, and the sins of my people. I desire to bless thee for what good thou hast done by my ministry among them, and for those souls thou hast already brought into heaven, I now, Lord, commit them into thy hands, who art the chief Shepherd; they are thy flock, help them to live in love and peace: O that strifes and contentions may cease! And thou who hast kept an open door for thy people in this place, when it hath been shut elsewhere for a long space; Lord, keep it open still, until thou shalt open the rest. Oh remember thy ministers, take care of them. Provide for this congregation; and if thou shalt incline the heart of my kinsman to stay amongst them, (who hath been trained up in my family these ten years, and they have known his manner of life, his doctrine, and abilities for the ministry,) if thou see it good, make way in the heart of thy servant H. and those that have power in this place, to use their endeavours, that he may continue here: this is my desire. Lord, remember thy people in these nations. Papists are striving, and some of the mere formalists care not what becomes of the Protestant interest. If popery comes in like a flood,—Lord, put a stop to it, yea, put an end to it. Stir up the heart of our king, and the king of

the Swedes against the harlot of Rome, that thinks she sits as a queen, and is no widow. O stir up the ten kings against her."

Then he added a request for accommodation of a difference between two persons whom he named, in his congregation, that he might see it healed before he died: and for some others that had made defection in practice, and were fallen off to looseness and vain company-keeping, who were children of pious parents, that at last God would bring them home by sound repentance. Concluding, he begged that the Lord would put down ill houses of iniquity, meaning alehouses.

He added that night—"Whilst we are at home in the body, we are absent from the Lord; but when we are absent from the body, then we shall be present with the Lord, therefore we labour.——The just shall live by his faith."

"Read the 20th of Acts, where Paul sent for the elders of the church of Ephesus, and gave them a charge, and took his leave of them. Read 1 Thess. iv. 12. to the end;" adding, "It is a great privilege, 'that the dead in Christ shall rise first, and be with him,' before they that are alive at his coming shall be changed."

Thus his holy soul mounting upwards by gradual ascents, breathed out itself into the bosom of God, being mellowed and ripened for glory. In all these things we may notice, 1. His public-spiritedness, still his heart was carried out for the church, "no man like minded, who naturally cared for the spiritual state of souls, and of Zion." 2. His hatred of sin, love to holiness, righteousness, and peace, and earnest desires to promote the interest of Christ, living and dying, at home and abroad. 3. His sweet serenity and composedness of spirit, looking the grim sergeant death, the king of terrors, full in the face without amazement, meeting him as his friend giving him possession of his Father's house. 4. His endearing attachment to the word of God, delighting to have it read and sounding in his ears, and tipping his tongue with scripture language, because his heart was thoroughly imbued with it. Thus this holy man lived, and thus he died; thus he believed, thus he preached and professed his hopes of a life to come; and thus he entered into his rest, and possesseth a purchased and perfect inheritance. Who would not thus live? what atheist would not thus die? However, a carnal heart may possibly say as that wicked roister who with his companion visited dying Ambrose, and hearing his holy discourses and confident expectations, he turned himself to his swaggering associate, saying, "O that I might live with thee, and die with Ambrose!" and thus could Balaam, Numb. xxiii. 10, that diabolical wizard and avaricious conjurer,

say, " Let me die the death of the righteous, and let my last end be like his," (*Heb.* let my soul or my life be with the righteous.) But they that would follow this blessed saint into the upper region, must enter in at the right door by sound conversion, and go forth, and go on in " the footsteps of the flock," travelling gradually in the paths of sanctity, till they advance to the mount of God: and though it be a rare thing to follow those worthies, (passibus æquis) with such steps and quick motion; yet sincerity in our setting out, diligence in pursuit, and perseverance in holding on to the end, may bring us to the goal and crown of glory: and though we cannot reach the exploits and honour of the three first of king David's worthies, yet may we be faithful soldiers in this noble army of the " followers of the Lamb," at last the diadem of glory may be by the grace of God set upon our triumphant heads: and if there be degrees of felicity, yet the least vessel shall be filled, and the humblest saint shall be blessed with an exceeding and eternal weight of glory; for such and so great is that joy, that it cannot enter into the most extensive and capacious minds as receivers, but they must enter " into their Master's joy;" as if millions of vessels of different sizes were cast into the vast ocean, they would be completely filled: so every saint will say with David, Ps. xvii. 15, " As for me I shall behold thy face in righteousness; I shall be satisfied when I awake with thy likeness."

Nor can it be difficult for a departing soul, set at liberty from the prison of flesh, to soar aloft with speed into those celestial regions, whatever may be the distance, especially when attendant angels form its escort. How quickly and safely can that blessed convoy conduct it into the presence-chamber of the glorious King? O how well did the gracious soul of Angier know the way thither, where he had been daily visiting the great God by faith and prayer! He was not a stranger to the laws of that country, nor unacquainted with the manner of the court above; but as he walked with his God, and was united to that heavenly society, so doubtless some correspondence was maintained with those blessed spirits above. Happy they that have faithfully improved their gifts and graces whilst conversant below; remember their dying expressions, and imitate their amiable, lively examples.

CLOSE OF MRS. ELLEN ANGIER'S LIFE.

Mrs. E. Angier, first wife of the Rev. John Angier, was born at Wigan, and daughter of Mr. Winstanley. * At the early age of eight years, she commenced her religious course, but she never appears to have possessed an assurance, or to have enjoyed a sense of divine favour. Her natural constitution seems to have had a propensity to depression of spirits, and through the whole of life this was her affliction. Two years and more before her death, God exercised her with great weakness of body; so that she was sometimes unable to walk, or lie down in bed, and was in excessive pain.

March 23, 1641, God gave her more clearness and comfort than she usually had; but her disconsolateness returned. At one time she said, "She would fain speak to the children, but could not, she was so straitened in her breast." Her husband asked her if he should send for their son John? She said, "No;" but bade him do what he thought best, he being at school at Manchester. She spoke to her daughter, and bade her "take God for her parent, as she knew not how soon father and mother might be gone." Speaking of John, she said, "That poor child, the Lord redeem his soul and keep him from base company. It may be, my poor words may sometime impress him, and my poor desires be realized." "She then," says Mr. Angier, "spake to me, desiring that I would take care to train up the children in God's fear." She said to her friends that were with her "Labour to be prepared to go through such difficulties. You may go on long in profession, and still meet with hard things when you think the worst is past. This I would say to old and young, be more plain and honest one with another."

"At night I went not to bed," continues Mr. A. "till after twelve o'clock, being solicitous for my wife, that God would further manifest himself unto her. Before one o'clock they called me up, she being very ill. She then said, 'Lord, into thy hands I commit my spirit, for thou hast redeemed me. Come, Lord Jesus, come quickly. Make no tarrying. He doth not yet come. Will he not make haste?' I answered, 'yes, in his own time.' Again she prayed that the Lord would come, and he did not long delay. She desired to be put into another bed,

* See Page 524.

where, after a short but hard struggle with death, she slept calmly away, between three and four o'clock in the morning, Dec. 14, 1642.

"God had taken off her heart from minding the children or any thing else, and had much weaned my heart. Notwithstanding her long weakness, her death was somewhat severe, and she was sensible to the last, though she had much feared the loss of her senses. Dec. 15, about two o'clock in the afternoon, the body of my wife was committed to the grave. Mr. Horrocks preached on Rom. vi. 23, 'The gift of God is eternal life through Jesus Christ our Lord.' Dec. 18, God sent Mr. Hollingworth to help me, who preached on Job xxxiv. 29, 'When he giveth quietness, who then can make trouble?' The Lord graciously assisted him. He said, 'One good look from God would make things well with a kingdom or individual.'"

A

BIOGRAPHICAL ACCOUNT

OF

MRS. ELIZABETH HEYWOOD,

First Wife of the Rev. O. Heywood;

EXTRACTED FROM HIS MANUSCRIPTS.

She was the excellent daughter of an eminent minister, the Rev. J. Angier. She was born, June 24, 1634, at Denton in Lancashire, the place where her distinguished father was minister many years; and was baptized, June 29, by Mr. Henry Root, then preacher at Gorton, a neighbouring chapel. She being brought up at home, partook of her parents' excellent dispositions. She was naturally very forward in learning any thing, so that she could read some of the hardest chapters in the bible when but four years of age. At six years of age, she was able to write down passages of sermons she heard, in which, by continual use, in process of time she arrived at great perfection, so that she could repeat a sermon very methodically and distinctly. This evidenced not only her natural genius, but that "by reason of use, she had her senses exercised to discern both good and evil." As for her acquaintance with scripture, I may say of her as was said of Timothy: "That from a child she had

had known the holy scriptures;" much of them she had committed to memory. She took delight in reading God's word: not a day passed over her head in which she read not several chapters: morning and evening, she was getting a repast from this richly supplied board.

She was about eight years of age when her own dear and precious mother died, which, though it was a great loss to her, the Lord was pleased in a short time (in a great measure) to make up. by providing a very tender mother, who was very affectionate to her, and she also was very obedient to her.

She began while she was yet young, to seek the Lord God of her father, and by degrees received gracious influences and impressions. I know not but I might say, she was sanctified from the womb, or that the principles of holiness were instilled into her heart with her mother's milk. This was an occasion of sad doubts about her state, because she did not remember any signal juncture of time when her transition from nature to grace might be dated. She was often in fears, because she had not felt those strong convictions and deep humiliations which others could enumerate. But, for my own part, I think that those who have been piously educated and have made no apparent defection into gross sin, but have kept forward in a course of secret duties from a principle of of conscience, and are afraid of offending God in any thing, may conclude that their state is safe, though they have not felt those convulsions in their souls which others have had. This I have observed, that God usually comes by some affliction or conviction to take off such a person from his own righteousness, or leaves him to fall into some reproachful sin, whereby he takes occasion to awaken conscience, or leads him into some remarkable way of self-discovery, and then creates lively springings of the Spirit of grace in the heart. She constantly practised the duty of prayer. After reading the scripture, she always went to prayer, and would shut herself up in her room and be long alone.

From her very infancy, she was of so sweet and tender a disposition, that she always delighted in peace, and would never endure anger or contention. In any matters of difference that fell out on any occasion, she would often say, "Let us yield rather than contend." She had a remarkable dexterity in putting off, or putting the best construction on, what might tend to animosity.

She had a very tender affection for her poor brother and sister, and shed many tears for them; especially for her brother, whose extravagancies almost broke her heart, as if she had been his mother. She loved him so dearly while they were both

young, that she would have wished to have borne his corrections for him, and many times used her endeavours to do him good. Her heart was much carried out after his soul's welfare, and she trembled to inquire respecting him, lest she should hear what is evil. O what fears and jealousies had she for him! What tears and prayers did she pour out for him, and what letters of grave advice did she write unto him! How did it rejoice her heart to read his penitential letters from New England, when there appeared any hope of his doing well!

April 18, 1656. She brought forth her first-born son, called John, after her reverend father: I pray God he may tread in his steps. The ensuing year, on the same day, she was delivered of another son, and named him Eliezer, saying, "The God of my father was my help."

The Lord was pleased to train up the subject of this memoir under the severe discipline of the rod. From her youth she suffered by the frequent visits of bodily afflictions, so that when she enjoyed the greatest health, physicians said, she was of the weakest constitution they had ever observed. It pleased the Lord to exercise her with great debility; and finding it increased the winter before her death, she took much time to set her house and heart in order for her great change, that she might be ready to take her flight into eternity. She bought no clothes but for present use, because she said she was shortly to take her leave of all. She provided necessaries for us, that we might have nothing to buy for some time. Sometimes she would speak concerning a second marriage, desiring me to keep God's way as I had done before, and he would provide well for me again. She mentioned not only some characters but persons to me, who she apprehended would be suitable and helpful to my children. Much serious counsel did she give me, which I hope I shall remember while I live. Two things she particularly urged on me: first, that I would be much in secret prayer, and look chiefly to the frame of my heart therein; secondly, that I would never pray without mentioning the church of God, "if it be but," said she, "in two or three words, yet let Jerusalem come into your mind."

Thursday, April 18, 1661, we took our journey for Lancashire with our little sons, being sent for by our dear father to Denton, to see if by change of air and other means her frail constitution might be restored. We finished the journey in two days, and as we went along, she often bade farewell to Yorkshire, and was persuaded she should never return, as indeed it proved, though I hoped otherwise. It was remarkable that God should so order this exchange, sending my dear mother to die

in my house, and sending my endeared wife to die in her father's house where she was born. When she first arrived we had some hopes of her recovery. She went to Manchester to consult physicians; but by fatigue or some other cause she was in great danger, and seemed to be breathing her last most of that night: yet it pleased the Lord to restore her for a season and bring her back to Denton, and therein to answer her request. After that, she apparently became weaker and took little medicine, for the doctors durst not prescribe for her: they said it was a consumption on her lungs.

On the Friday before she died, when she had been panting and struggling for breath, seeing the children of the family about her, she said, "Sirs, prepare for this time, for it will come to you that are young, as well as to me. I want breath to speak. O spend your breath well! not in idle and vain conversation, but to God's glory. Remember you must give account of every idle word." When her father had gone to prayer, being revived, she said, "I bless God I am better. Blessed be God for his covenant which he hath made with me, everlasting, ordered in all things and sure. This is all my salvation, all my desire." Being asked if she found God gracious to her, she answered, "Yes, in supporting and reviving me; but I do not find the Lord speaking so clearly to my soul, that he is mine and I am his, as I desire; but I would cleave to him. It is fit we should wait for him. O come, come, Lord, lift up the light of thy countenance." Addressing herself again to the children, she said, "Beware of pride: 'pride goes before destruction, and a haughty spirit before a fall.' Labour for humility, it is a grace that adorns all other graces. Labour to serve God with a perfect heart and a willing mind; blessed are they that walk in the law of the Lord, blessed are they that fear God: it brings not only a blessing to ourselves, but to our children, sometimes to many generations. Labour to be real Christians; it is not to go to church, and hear, and come away, and no more: but if you would be Christians indeed, you must hide the word in your heart, meditate upon it, and get the sweetness out of it. There are secret duties you must also be careful of, as meditation, self-examination, and searching the heart. Labour to watch over the heart, pray for grace, and spend time well." Then turning her speech to her father and husband, she said, "You that are older, keep close to God and his truths. Do not forsake him, and he will not forsake you. Do not fear men, but choose the greatest affliction before the least sin: if you should be put to the hardest trial, and if they should take away your lives, it will but send you

sooner to your reward, and that will be no injury to you. If God do suffer those lordly-spirited men to afflict his church for a time, I believe it will not be long: the church is dear to the Lord, and he will not suffer it always to be trampled upon. O sirs, let the church of God lie near your hearts, it lies near God's heart: 'They shall prosper that love Zion:' prefer Jerusalem before and above your chief joy."

That night she poured out her soul to God in a serious and fervent prayer for her own soul, that God would shine upon her and give her the sealings of his Spirit. O what heart-melting expressions did she use for that purpose! Then she prayed for me, with reference to the place where God had placed me, and the troubles I had met with, and begged earnestly that God would continue me there. She prayed for her dear father and the ministers of the gospel, for their preservation and success in the Lord's work. Then for the family, that the Lord would reward them for their labour of love, and that he would dwell among them: and then for the church of God, that the Jews might be converted, and that the gospel might be preached to the remainder of the Gentile nations.

On the Saturday, her father asked her, "How she felt her spirit?" She answered, "All her fears were removed and her doubts satisfied, so that nothing much troubled her." Though she found not such sensible comforts and transporting joys as many attain, yet I think she felt more than she did or could express; for just as her breath stopped short, she endeavoured to speak something which she could not utter, but was taken up to her long desired rest, to feel what no eye can see nor tongue articulate.

May 26, 1661. Her blessed soul left her tender body about two or three o'clock on Lord's day morning, and went to keep a perpetual sabbath with her best husband. On the ensuing Tuesday, she was decently interred near her beloved mother's grave. Mr. John Harrison of Ashton, who preached our marriage sermon, preached also her funeral sermon on that text of which she had felt the sweetness and which she desired might be taken, 1 Cor. xv. 57, "Thanks be to God, which giveth us the victory through our Lord Jesus Christ." Her death was exceedingly lamented by all; and as she was respected in her life, so she was much honoured at her death, by the solemn attendance of very many of the gentry and ministry, and great multitudes of the common people.

A

Brief Memoir

OF

MR. RICHARD HEYWOOD,

THE FATHER OF THE REV. OLIVER AND NATHANIEL HEYWOOD.

Mr. Richard Heywood was a descendant of Mr. John Heywood, of Heywood Mill, near Bolton, a younger branch of the Heywood family, of Heywood Hall, between Rochdale and Bury. He is supposed to have been born at Bolton, about the year 1596; but the Parish Register at Bolton was lost in the civil war. Under the preaching of a pious minister at Cockey chapel, religious impressions were made on Mr. Heywood's mind when nineteen years of age, from which time he cast in his lot among God's people, and engaged in social exercises of religion with them. "In my childhood," says his son Oliver, "I can remember many days so employed, and, when the apparitor was searching after them, a person was appointed in the entry to deaden the voices of such as were praying in the parlour."

He married Alice Critchlaw of Longworth, in Bolton parish, in A. D. 1615, he being 19 years of age, and she 21. Mr. Alex. Horrocks preached the nuptial sermon. God intending to build them high, laid their foundation low, by taking from them their first-born son John, when he was about a year old, and afterwards bringing them into difficulties, in consequence of Mr. H. becoming responsible for another man's debt: but God had mercy on them, disposed his father to be kind to them, and raised them up many other friends, beyond expectation. "At last," to adopt the words of his son's narrative, "about the year when I was born, the Lord was pleased to extricate them out of troubles, and, my father being careful, began to manufacture on his own account, which was then lucrative." Embarking in commercial speculations, God graciously blessed him in matters of the world, so that he began to rise to opulence, and things succeeded prosperously far beyond expectation. God increased his property while his family was increasing, so that he bought much land, gave portions to his daughters, sunk coal-pits, built houses, and maintained two sons in London and two at the University. God gave him property for the education of his children, and especially for training up his sons, Oliver and Nathaniel, for the service of the sanctuary,

and when that object was accomplished, he stript him of property again.

What follows is an abridgement of the manuscript narrative, retaining the language and sentiments of the narrator.

His embarrassments and troubles in the world returned again upon him in his old age. He changed his sphere of business, and instead of dealing as a merchant in fustians, he engaged in the sale of woollen goods, in which he had not been conversant. He often told me he knew how he bought and how he sold, and he was confident there were large profits, and yet he also saw his property went faster than it came; he saw it, but could not tell how to help it. As for himself, he was always exceedingly economical and provident enough for his calling; yet he was unawares plunged into debt, which I confess is the strangest thing imaginable, and hath been the wonder of many.

This good old man had various afflictions and difficulties to encounter, besides what originated in his commercial speculations; one of which was very peculiar, and scarcely admits a parallel. The case was this: 1647, or thereabouts, the Presbyterian government was established in Lancashire, every congregation had its eldership, several congregations had their classis, and these maintained intercourse by a provincial assembly for the whole county, which was usually held at Preston, to which appeals were made, and by which differences were decided. At Bolton, where my father had joined in communion, there were two ministers, Mr. John Harpur, and Mr. Richard Goodwin, with whom were associated twelve elders chosen out of the parish. These sat with the ministers, carried their votes into effect, inquired into the conversation of their neighbours, assembled usually with the ministers when they examined communicants, and though the ministers only examined, yet the elders approved or disapproved. These together made an order, that every communicant as often as he was to partake of the Lord's supper should come to some of the ruling elders on the Friday before, and request and receive a *ticket*, which he was to deliver in to the elders immediately before his partaking of that ordinance. This ticket was of lead with a stamp upon it, and the design was, that they might know that none intruded themselves without previous admission. The elders went through the congregation and took the tickets from the people, and they had to fetch them again by the next opportunity, which was every month. But this became the occasion of great dissension in the congregation, for several conscientious Christians stumbled at it and refused to come for

tickets, yet ventured to sit down, so that when the elders came they had no tickets to give in; whether these passed unnoticed I am not certain. My father was one of these ticketless persons, and because they judged him to be the ringleader of this faction of schismatics, they singled him out and summoned him to appear before the eldership. They required his reasons for non-compliance, which he gave in against that practice, such as the following: 1. Because there is neither precept nor example in scripture for any such practice, therefore it is not of divine institution but of human invention, and if allowed would militate against nonconformist principles, and re-establish popish and prelatical ceremonies. 2. No other church in Lancashire, London, or England, had invented or used this rite, though they are as careful of order as this church; and innovations are dangerous. 3. Because it was cumbersome to the communicants, for the poor must leave their callings to attend the elders, and perhaps not find them at home. 4. It was an uncertain means to attain the end, as experience testified. 5. The practice might degenerate to worse consequences and greater inconveniences than could be foreseen. 6. It already did, and might hereafter, prove a snare to some persons, as if their getting a ticket was a sufficient qualification. 7. Other and more profitable means might be used to discriminate communicants, and time might be better spent by ministers, elders, and people, in endeavouring to prepare themselves and others for a due participation of that sacred ordinance.

These, and such like reasons he exhibited in writing to the presbytery at Bolton; but they did not satisfy them, and what they said did not satisfy him. They sent several times for him; he went, many disputes they had on this subject solely, for they had nothing else to lay to his charge. At last they admonished him, and when they saw him still resolved not to revoke his error, they suspended him from the Lord's supper for contempt, as they construed it, because he could not in conscience comply. They said he laughed them to scorn; but he, having naturally a smiling countenance, might possibly smile in his conversation with them. His dear tender-spirited wife would have had him yield to them for peace' sake, but he durst not in point of conscience. Others, though they approved what he did and encouraged him, did not much appear, but held off out of policy or cowardice, so that he was left alone to struggle with his opponents, which he did manfully.

He being in this great strait, shut out from the communion of God's people, knew not what to do. He first applied himself to God, appealing to him for the righteousness of his cause,

confessing his sin, begging pardon, getting his heart nearer to God, and seeking counsel in this difficult case. He consulted his christian friends, and, at last, resolved to make his appeal to the class-presbytery of ministers and elders meeting at Bury. There the matter was debated a considerable time, and though the classis was dissatisfied with the eldership of Bolton, yet they, being loth to censure them, only desired they would pass it by and admit him to the Lord's supper again. But they trifled about it and did nothing, so he made his appeal from the class-presbytery at Bury to the provincial assembly at Preston. When the business had been stated and debated there, they made an order that the congregational eldership at Bolton should revoke the sentence of suspension publicly, and admit him again into fellowship, exhorting both sides to mutual accommodation; and, as I remember, about this time the occasion of this contention was laid aside. When this order came to the ministers and elders at Bolton, they somewhat demurred at his restoration without submission. However, they were bound to obey the order of the provincial assembly, and at length framed a paper which was read in the church, in which they freed R. H. from his suspension, but gave some hints therein as though he had submitted, which he did not; so it was not all satisfactory, and I think he never joined with them in the Lord's supper afterwards, but was received at Cockey chapel, a mile nearer him than Bolton, and at all other places about, and maintained private communion in days of fasting and prayer, in Bolton parish and elsewhere.

This is a faithful account of that unhappy difference. Behold how great a flame a little spark may kindle! I wrote many papers for him in 1648, as replies to the eldership at Bolton, and some appeals which I have now forgotten. This controversy continued some years, occasioned many animosities amongst good people, and opened the mouths of those who hated religion. It divided the whole society into parties, and greatly affected the heart of his good wife, who was all for peace and submission: but he insisted upon his integrity, and often alleged Job xxvii. 2—6. It was indeed a great affliction to his spirit, which he bore with unconquerable fortitude, and managed with great wisdom and moderation. Few would have been found so capable of defending christian liberty at the same rate. Whether it was well done in them to impose, or in him to oppose, I leave; he and they are gone to appear before the impartial Judge. It is very rare but in such a controversy both sides may be wrong in the mode of conducting things; I hope God hath pardoned, accepted, and saved the souls of the good.

It were endless to relate all the troubles R. H. went through, and the remarkable deliverances he had during his 14 years of distress, from 1662 to 1676. But God put an end to his difficulties several years before he died, so that he lived quietly and comfortably with his second wife, Margaret Brereton. He was a man of excellent natural genius, large capacity, tenacious memory, with a speculating head, always contriving something. It has been observed that as God prospered him exceedingly in the middle of his days, in every thing; so towards the latter part of his life God frustrated his designs, and disappointed him in all that he undertook: doubtless it was to take his heart off from the world, and to prepare him for heaven.

He was of a strong, vigorous, and healthful constitution, naturally very cheerful, and of an affable, sociable, and amiable temper. About two years before he died, when he was 79 years of age, he took a journey to London as witness for one Rich. Watts in a trial for about £500. Most of his relations knew nothing of his journey till he sent a letter signifying that he was well, and kindly entertained by his cousin Mr. Nath. Hilton, whom he had employed as a factor, and who was grown very rich.

He had not such strong religious affections as some Christians, but was sober, solid, and well fixed in the principles and practices of religion; very judicious in his answers to questions at stated conferences, and in discourse with ministers and christian friends. Many days of prayer I have known him keep with God's people, yea, I remember a whole night in which he, Dr. Bradshaw, and several excellent men, were engaged in prayer, on account of King Charles demanding the five members of the House of Commons. It was such a night as I was never present at in all my life; the case and work were extraordinary. Bolton parish considered R. H. as a man of some judgment, capacity, and interest, when in the year 1644, on the death of Mr. Gregge vicar of Bolton, the parishioners sent him into the low countries with a message to Mr. Robt. Park, formerly vicar of Bolton and then preacher to the English congregation at Rotterdam, to solicit his return to them. He went and succeeded. When my father landed at Hull, he heard the astonishing tidings of Prince Rupert's taking Bolton, killing man, woman, and child, as represented to him, and when he came by Halshaw-moor, after the battle there, he beheld a most lamentable spectacle of multitudes slain and plundered. When in London, he furnished himself with the best books, the most plain, practical, and experimental treatises in divinity, such as

Calvin, Luther, Perkins, Preston, and Sibbs, in reading which he took much pleasure. When Prince Rupert's forces took Bolton and ravaged all the country, my sisters had the books conveyed away into a coal-pit house, and laid under piles of wood; but they found them, carried them away, and, it is said, burnt them on Cockey-moor.

R. H. had enjoyed a great measure of health most of his days. He had often said he would visit his two sons, and continue a month with each; but kept putting it off. His son Nathaniel came over to him at Christmas, stayed a fortnight in the neighbourhood, and lodged several nights with him; he conversed familiarly with him, preached in his house on the Lord's day, and remained longer with him than he had done above twenty years, and was much affected with his company. About this time, he got several ministers to spend the Lord's day in his house, in preaching and prayer. The Lord's day before he died, Mr. Aspinall preached; he prayed and discoursed with him that day and the Monday morning, and had great satisfaction from him. Several months before his death he was much impressed with a sense of God's great goodness to him, and in his prayers was greatly drawn out in thankfulness to God. He appointed several days of solemn thanksgiving, at which he desired the help of christian friends and neighbours, and was much enlarged on those days. A good man told me, that the last day he was with him on that occasion, he praised God with so much feeling and so many tears, as much affected his heart and others that united with him.

I came to him, Feb. 22, 1677, and found my dear and honoured father ill in bed. I was much agitated with fear, and suspected, as it proved, that he was sick unto death. He had been abroad on the Monday, and thought he had got some cold, I visited him on the Thursday. He had a bad cough, and told me he was extremely weak, and that however God might deal with him, he was never in such a condition before, and was waiting God's pleasure. I asked him, how it was with him as to the state of his soul? He cheerfully answered in these words: "It is now threescore and two years since God shewed me my woful condition by nature, and helped me to lay hold on Christ; and though I have had many failings in the course of my life, yet I hope I can say, I never took my leave of Jesus Christ." These words so sensibly spoken, did greatly melt my heart. He lamented that of late God had much withdrawn himself from him in secret addresses. "In my family," said he, "and with others, God doth in some measure assist me, but I find not

his presence by myself as I desire; and I have been guilty of many sins, but I will cleave to my Lord Jesus and lie at his feet, let him do with me as seemeth good."

I put him into God's hands by prayer, and he slept much, yet in the morning I perceived his strength was much abated, and that his memory failed him, repeating often the same things. I told him I was obliged to leave him. God did more than ordinarily assist me in prayer, and in expounding part of Job. xxxiii. My sisters, Esther and Alice, and several other friends and relations were present. There was a solemn parting and a flood of tears. Seldom hath my heart been in such a frame, reflecting on his more than ordinary care of me and prayers for me, when I could not or did not pray for myself. With much difficulty I parted from him about two or three o'clock in the afternoon, Feb. 23; lodged at Rochdale that night, preached at home on Lord's day, at Warley on Tuesday, at Idle on Wednesday, and, immediately after my return home on Thursday night, a messenger came to acquaint me with his death that morning, March 1, 1677. On Friday I went back with the messenger. They told me how he died, just as he had foretold, for he had often said, he thought he should die without much sickness or pain, as it proved. He slept quietly most of the night before, and about break of day called for something to wet his mouth, which while his wife was fetching, he opened his lips twice as if yawning, and breathed his last, without noise, groan, or the least struggle. On Saturday, his funeral was solemnized at Bolton, according to the decent custom of the country. His son Nathaniel met us there from Ormskirk. Mr. Tilsley, who kept his station at Dean church, preached the funeral sermon in Bolton church, from 2 Tim. i. 12, "I know in whom," &c. These words, a beloved sister of mine observed, our good father had frequently repeated, and recommended them to him as the subject of his discourse. Mr. Tilsley very cheerfully complied. The day after, being Lord's day, I preached at Cockey chapel on Rev. x. 6, "There shall be time no longer." O that it would please God to bring in some soul of our relations to fill up this vacancy, to do our dear Lord some acceptable service!

R. H. passed through a variety of circumstances and dispensations with such equanimity of spirit as I have seldom known, not being lifted up in prosperity beyond what was meet, nor too much cast down in adversity. He bore all his troubles with an invincible courage, for God wonderfully upheld him, and I doubt not sanctified his afflictions for the bettering of his heart; he had a good report of all men and of the truth itself. He lies

buried in the middle of Bolton churchyard, with a handsome tombstone over him, and this inscription:

Here lyeth the Body of
RICHARD HEYWOOD,
of Little Lever,
Who had followed the Lord 64 years, in Christian Profession and Praetice,
through various Conditions.
At last fell asleep Mareh 1, 1677, in the 81 Year of his Age.
There the weary be at rest.

Particulars

OF THE

LIFE OF MRS. ALICE HEYWOOD,

OBSERVED AND COLLECTED

BY HER SON, O. HEYWOOD.

Alice Heywood was born at Longworth, near Walmsley-chapel, in Bolton parish, Lancashire, about the year 1594. She was the only daughter of her father, and had four brothers—William, Francis, Hugh, and Ralph Critchlaw. Most of these having been brought to a saving knowledge of the truth while she was young, she wondered at their zeal, and the frequency of their attendance on religious duties, yet she became more attached to them for their forwardness in the ways of God, though she had little sense of such things as yet upon her own heart. She has often told me, "she was as careless, worldly, and froward as any till about nineteen years of age, at which time it pleased God to take to himself her gracious mother, whom she tenderly loved, and for whose death she felt excessive sorrow." This heart-breaking providence was seconded by a heart-convincing ordinance and God's blessing. At that time, there lived a pious young minister at the place, Mr. Joshua Hill, whom the Lord used as an instrument to open her blind eyes, to convince her of her dangerous state by nature, and of the dreadful guilt attending the commission of every actual sin; so that her heart was overwhelmed under sad apprehensions of divine wrath. She was brought next door to despair, and continued two full years suffering God's terrors

and refusing to be comforted, thinking her condition without parallel, and that there was no hope of mercy for so vile a sinner. That which lay so very heavy upon her heart was, that she had not been careful to follow her dear departed mother's example and instructions in spiritual things, though she had been very observant to please her in other things. It affected her heart exceedingly, that her mother was gone to the grave with tears for her, and had not seen the return of her prayers, and the success of her endeavours for her conversion. There were many concentring causes of her excessive grief, as, the depravity of her nature, the vileness of her sins, her dishonouring of God, crucifying Christ, grieving the Spirit, and ruining her soul, with many aggravating circumstances; these brought her soul to the gates of hell, and her body nigh to the grave. One circumstance I have often heard her relate, that upon that day in which she used to go to Bolton, and be most jocund with her companions, she afterwards withdrew into a little outhouse near her father's, took her bible with her, and spent the whole day in reading and praying and self-examining exercises. There she took her fill of the bitterness of godly sorrow, and uttered importunate cries for pardoning mercy; her fasting and solitariness being intended as a holy revenge for her former mirth and vanity. Though she had not been addicted to gross profaneness, yet youthful volatileness was her bitter affliction; for a wounded spirit hath a fruitful fancy to multiply and magnify the smallest circumstances and render them intolerable. When her brothers perceived her continuing too long, some of them came to bring her home, telling her she must have pity on her body, and that God will have mercy and not sacrifice. She answered, "she cared not what became of her body, so that her heart might be brought low enough on account of sin."

Her soul-troubles were so great and her doubts so many, that several experienced persons took great pains to comfort her, but almost in vain. Mr. Hill, who was the means of her being cast down, laboured much to raise her up, lest she should be swallowed up with over-much sorrow. He had a tender regard for her, and sometimes, in company, would have pointed to her, and said, "this is one of my lambs," which expression wrought wonderfully on her. Ah! thought she, what am I, that any of God's messengers should own such an unworthy wretch, and that I should be called a lamb, who am more like a wolf, and deserve not to come into Christ's fold among his people? She had many self-abasing and self-condemning thoughts, and was as nothing in her own eyes. If she per-

ceived that any thought or spoke well of her, it rather humbled her than lifted her up, because she thought she was not so good as they took her to be, and that if they knew how vile she was they would not praise her, for none had so bad a heart as she supposed she was burdened with. Among her spiritual helpers, her brothers contributed much, especially the youngest, who was more endeared to her because of being nearer her own age, but especially because of having experienced similar distress of mind.

When God had thus betrothed my dear mother to himself in righteousness, judgment, loving-kindness, and mercies, he provided for her a suitable partner, my dear and honoured father, of whose piety and sincerity she had undoubted evidence. She has often said, "that was the principal object of her choice, and that her heart was more endeared to him as an heir of the same grace of life, than for any other endowments." They were first contracted, and then married (as I remember having heard them say) by good old Mr. Horrocks, that celebrated light and precious instrument of good, to whom she had a strong attachment. No sooner was she engaged in that relation and in the world, but behold a Gad, a troop, yea, an army of troubles assaulted her, the Lord seeing good to cast her down first that he might raise her up; as he had dealt with her in spiritual, so in outward things. One of the first trials she had was the death of her first-born son, the greatness of which affliction, scripture, and experience may testify. Yet this was but the beginning of troubles, for the Lord exercised them with embarrassment from debt, occasioned by my father's suretyship for others;* at the same time there was a very grievous famine in the country. She often pathetically related those troubles and kept a due sense of them all her days, that her soul might be humbled in her prosperity. In these straits, the Lord raised them up many christian friends who were very tender and affectionate, and were instrumental in giving them comfort and encouragement, amongst whom I have often heard her mention her own father-in-law, (after whose name I was called) as a special means of their support. He was indeed eminent for piety, and as amiable for natural disposition. He often spake affectionately to her, and acted the part of a faithful friend in strengthening her hands in God, and helping her as if she had been his only child, he told her that they should be equal sharers in comforts and crosses, and that whilst he had any thing she should not want. But at length the Lord removed this stay also, taking him by death to himself, who was so great

* See the Life of Mr. Richard Heywood.

a help to her; yet about the same time, God graciously delivered them out of their pecuniary difficulties. These are but left-hand blessings, yet they are to be observed and recorded to the glory of God, and the encouragement of those that fear God. O how good are these mercies with a blessing!

She was a woman of sorrows, which she bore with unshaken fortitude, and incredible patience, cheerfulness, and self-denial, for she had a speedy remedy for every malady—that was prayer. Oftentimes when her heart was as full of anxieties and fears as it could be, and she ready to be swallowed up, she was wont to go to the Lord, open her case, and state it to him in secret prayer, and thereby found present relief and future success. She was very conversant with the Lord alone, in humble retirement she practised self-conference, meditation, and the recollecting of sermons she had heard, whereby she had obtained a notable facility in remembering; for though, from age, her natural memory had decayed, yet she had the spirit of remembrance, and would mention much of what she had heard many years before. It was her constant course in the night when she lay awake, to revolve them in her mind, and rivet them there, so that in her I have often observed the truth of that maxim, "a good heart helps a bad memory."

Her earnest desire, and constant care were, to wait at the posts of wisdom. She had taken great pains to hear sermons. She was, (as it were) the centre of intelligence for knowing the time and place of week-day sermons. She thought it a great affliction to miss any opportunity for the good of her soul. She moved in religious duties and ordinances as in her proper element, and hath often said, "she was never right but when she was reading, hearing, praying, meditating, or conferring." She loved to breathe in a religious air, and thought she could never be weary of God's service. There was scarcely a week wherein she spent not one day or more in the communion of the saints, especially among her own sex who kept up seasons of conference and private fasts. She was conversant with saints, not only about home, but in adjacent parishes, where she had many intimate associates who dearly loved her. She might truly say, she was a companion to all that feared God; for she had the right hand of fellowship in many churches, and her praise was in the gospel far and near.

She was exceedingly pitiful and tender-hearted to the poor, and used not only to deal out her bread to the hungry, but pour out her soul for them. Many a time hath she given money, clothes, and victuals to such as were in want, and often prevailed with my father to employ poor persons in a time of scarcity,

when others cast them off, though to his disadvantage. How generally she was beloved by the poor, was witnessed by that bitter lamentation which spread from house to house at the news of her death. Besides mercy to their bodies she had great compassion for their souls, and examined, instructed, and admonished poor ignorant creatures. It was her usual practice to help many poor children to learning, by buying them books, sending them to school and paying masters for teaching, whereby many a parent blessed God for help by their children's reading, who were formerly deprived of that benefit.

She laid to heart very heavily the sins and sufferings of others. The dishonour of God was the burden of her soul; she beheld transgressors and was grieved. In those cases wherein she hath been concerned, she has been more grieved for the faults of professors than her own loss, pitying such as had cozened her, and begging the pardon of their sin. She put her shoulder under to bear the burdens of the afflicted. O her sympathizing groans and importunate prayers for those that were under desertions, temptations, and discouragements! She made every person's condition her own, and put on such as were able to help those who were suffering. She was the poor man's purveyor, and begged relief of others when the case required. Tempted souls she would bring to an acquaintance with ministers or able Christians, that they might be edified and satisfied.

She was wonderfully carried out in endeavouring the good of the church. She was exceedingly desirous and sedulous to procure the settlement of pious ministers in adjacent places. The very last day she was at Bolton, and the last work she did in Lancashire, was actively exerting herself to bring a good man to Cockey chapel, for which end she procured a meeting of ministers and some of the people to consult about it, which was the only means to accomplish that end; for good designs often prove ineffectual for want of mutual harmony, though individuals are forward enough if taken separately. This mutual concurrence was her great object, either for reconciling differing parties, or for accomplishing public undertakings. She was very useful in healing breaches, and took much pains and great delight in that work, often repeating, "Blessed are the peacemakers." She had so much interest in the affections of good people, and did so evince that she minded not self, that there were few but would have been prevailed on by her; besides, she used to speak with such plain, downright, homely rhetoric, and scriptural reasons, that few I believe had power to deny her request. She was so much for peace, that she would roll away every stone to effect it, and if it was any thing that concerned

herself, she would abate her right in the pursuit, and lose much to purchase it.

The love she bore to her children, though natural was spiritualized, but especially the regard she had for our souls, (which is the soul of love,) was highly elevated. I may say, she travailed in birth again for us, till Christ was formed in us; and the latter was more severe than the former. O with what tears and entreaties did she plead for us at the throne of grace! What heart-breaking words of endeared affection hath she expressed for our souls! What heart-awakening instructions hath she constantly inculcated upon us! She used to press upon our consciences the undeniable truths of christianity, such as: our fall in Adam—the corruption of our nature—our subjection to the curse—redemption by Christ—the necessity of regeneration—the immortality and worth of the soul—the weighty concerns of eternity, and other truths of similar importance, which might at once inform our judgments, rouse our affections, awaken our consciences, and, through God's blessing, prevail on our wills. I may say, I owe much to her as the instrument under God, of that saving good I at first received; and I hope I shall never forget the instructions of a mother. She was continually putting us on reading the scriptures and good books, and instructed us how to pray. It was her custom, when my father was gone to London, to make all her children pray, beginning at the youngest, exhorting us to say what we could before the Lord. We spent at least one evening in this manner during his absence, which certainly was not in vain, if it only encouraged and emboldened us for the future. Though she was very indulgent to us, yet she was very sharp and severe against sin, especially such as she saw we were most inclined to. O how did she reprobate sinful ways, and endeavour to prevent our running into them, or into any bad custom! She would never suffer us to use idle words, not even some that others, (even good people) thought were not wrong, her conscience being so tender that she durst not indulge either herself or us in any thing she suspected to be sin. She often urged us to learn, but principally that we should seek for grace: for though she prized other things in their place, yet she often said, "if God would but give us grace, she cared not so much what else we had."

She loved true religion, and the power of godliness wherever she saw it, and accounted sincere Christians the most excellent of the earth, esteemed them her dearest friends, and made them her choicest companions though ever so poor; when she met with a christian friend it was not easy to part them. She laid

deeply to heart the death of a faithful minister or gracious Christian, fearing it was a presage of some approaching evil. It troubled her much to hear of the misconduct of the children of pious parents, and she would pray earnestly for them, reckoning that somebody perhaps would pray for her wandering children, when she was dead and gone.

She was always engaged actively in the works of her general or particular calling, and could not endure idleness. Her heart was mounting heavenwards while her hands were busy in this work, making some spiritual use of all passages of her life. I have heard her often say, "she was never right except she could get some good thing into her mind, whether lying in bed or walking in the way, or engaged in employment." She took much pleasure in that scripture, John iv. 34, "My meat is to do the will of him that sent me." She would often say, "we must be like Christ or Mary, the first was always doing good, the latter always receiving good."

She had a very low opinion of the world and its glory, profits, pleasures, and honours, and was much taken with a sermon preached on 1 John ii. 17. She was often repeating instances of the vanity and instability of the world, and drew good conclusions from thence to distrust it, to be weaned from it, and to lay up better treasures in heaven, where moth cannot corrupt nor thieves break in to steal. Her usual expressions were, "O what is this world good for! How little will these things do for us at death! What will it profit a man if he gain the whole world, and lose his own soul? Alas, what matter is it what becomes of the world, so that we have an interest in Christ!" She was weary of employments and enjoyments here below, and said "She did her domestic work rather from the sense of her duty than any delight therein, and she cared not how little she had to do in the world."

At last this choice piece of God's twofold workmanship of nature and grace was to be taken down; her tottering tabernacle was to be levelled with the ground, and her precious soul released that it might take its flight to eternal mansions. She that had been dying daily found it no strange thing to surrender her soul into the hands of him that gave it, and who had given himself to redeem it. The sting of death was plucked out, and this debt to nature became a sweet refreshing sleep. Solomon saith of the labouring man, "that his sleep is sweet;" so weary steps through this tedious wilderness made Canaan more delightful. The exhausting of her spirits by fasting and prayer rendered her dissolution more easy, so that it was not a violent extrusion, but a composed resignation of her soul.

She had been weakly a considerable time, yet her body was a little recovered, and her strength recruited beyond expectation, and hearing of a distemper that was upon me she was desirous to come and see me. Before she came, (as she told a neighbour of ours) she dreamed she must go into Yorkshire, and die there: and, indeed, the Lord seemed to say to her, as he once did to Aaron, that she must go up to mount Hor and be gathered to her people. As soon as she came hither, she complained she was not well, and had violent pain in her head, though towards the last she became very drowsy, having a lightness and dizziness in her head. About two days before she died, we were at dinner, and though she could not eat any thing with us, she came and sat down with us, and began to discourse feelingly on the things of God, which were as meat and drink to her, and which might prove food to our souls. She gave us a distinct account of her conversion and conversation, and of several observable passages in her life, which she accompanied with expressions of admiration of God's free grace, and what an indulgent God she had found the Lord to be all her days, and did not question but we should find him to be the same to us if we walked in his ways.

On Tuesday, which was the day before she died, she rode to the chapel, and heard my father Angier preach at the baptism of my son Eliezer, his text was 2 Pet. i. 15, "Moreover, I will endeavour that ye may be able after my decease to have these things always in remembrance." His excellent sermon seemed to be, as it were, her funeral sermon, being a clear description of her life. It was her great care, not only to be helpful to the church of God while she was living, but to leave behind her something that might benefit it when she was gone, by her laying hold on the covenant for herself and children, furthering God's public worship, holy education of children, dedicating them to the Lord, and pouring out many prayers both for them and the church, by beating out an exemplary track for posterity to walk in, helping others' memories, transcribing the word and works of God for future generations, by frequently discoursing and making suitable applications; all which were applicable to her, as they that knew her can abundantly testify. This sermon and her life had the same aspect, and were coincident. That night she slept but little, yet in the morning she arose and would needs be going home towards Lancashire; before which time she would not be persuaded to return. She put on her riding clothes and prepared for her journey, but we saw she was in no fit posture for travelling, and that she was going apace to her long home. Her phlegm suddenly stopped,

her strength failed, her colour changed, and, as we thought, she was near expiring. We called my father Angier hastily to her, who prayed with her. He asked her, "if she understood;" she answered, "yes, very well;" he told her, "he must leave her;" "I am sorry for that," she said; he replied, "I have committed you into the hands of our Father, and must go, having stayed here beyond my intentions." Thus they parted, with sweet expressions of mutual affection and submission to God's will, and confident expectation of meeting in glory. She continued, as it were, slumbering without any great pain, that we could perceive, and, being carried up into the chamber, lay quietly on the bed an hour or two, and at last breathed out her precious soul into the hands of God, and took possession of that glory which Christ went to prepare for her.

She died at my house in Northowram, April 22, 1657, about one o'clock in the afternoon, aged sixty-three. She was interred in Dr. Holdsworth's chapel, on the south side of Halifax church, April 24th, in the same grave, in which Mr. Boys, a celebrated minister, and some time lecturer at Halifax, was long since buried; on either side of whom were laid two excellent men, who had been ministers at Coley, Messrs. Hurst and Clayton. Mr. Bentley preached her funeral sermon on Cant. ii. 16.

Memoir

OF

MR. JOHN HEYWOOD,

ELDEST SON OF THE

REV. OLIVER HEYWOOD.

Mr. John Heywood, eldest son of Oliver Heywood, was born at Northowram, April 18th, 1656, and was called John, after his maternal grandfather, the Rev. John Angier, of Denton. He was early the subject of religious convictions, and encouraged his father to hope for his usefulness in the church of God. Both he and his brother Eliezer received the rudiments of their education in the neighbouring schools, and in May, 1672, were placed under the care and instruction of Mr. David Noble, of Morley, at which time Mr. Heywood made the fol-

lowing remarks: "Though for the present I am deprived of the pleasant society of my dear sons in this house, yet I freely deny myself for their good, and hope and pray that my God will furnish them with learning in their heads, and grace in their hearts, for his work and service in after times. This was the place in which I first received them of my God, and here I resign them up again to him. Here they drew their first breath, and here my soul hath breathed out many a prayer and shed many a tear for their good. In this house their dear grandmother, my esteemed mother, breathed her last a few days after she had seen the younger born; and from hence it may be, they may bury their father. Lord, grant that they may inherit their ancestors' blessings, prayers, and covenant, as well as house and lands. Lord, they are devoted to thee; accept of them, speak to them, and meet with them when from their father's house, that they may not bring guilt but grace and learning home at their return." After they had been at Morley, they were a short time with Mr. Henry Hickman, who was ejected from the University at Oxford, and afterwards received pupils at his house near Stourbridge.

Mr. Heywood, perceiving, as he imagined, the beginning of the work of grace in the hearts of his two sons, and finding that their inclinations led them to prefer the work of the ministry, he appointed a solemn private fast to be held at his house, May 15th, 1673, at which time, in the presence of a few friends assembled on the occasion, they expressed their desire to be employed in the service of Christ, in the ministry of the gospel. The next week they entered as students in divinity at Mr. Frankland's academy, who had opened a private seminary at Rathmell, in Craven, and were among the earliest scholars received by that eminent Nonconformist tutor. They continued with Mr. Frankland at Rathmell, and afterwards at Natland, in Westmoreland, nearly three years, and then entered the University at Edinburgh. On their return from Scotland, April 18th, 1677, Mr. Heywood says: "Behold a Gad, a troop, comes of preventing and favouring mercies, all matter for praise. My sons were once in great danger, being at a conventicle, they were let down by a sheet through a window three stories high, and so escaped: "This was the Lord's doing and marvellous in our eyes." May 18th, I had a letter from their Regent in Scotland, informing me that their lives were irreproachable while there; a good hearing and a fruit of God's great kindness. At their Laureation, when the oath of supremacy was enjoined to be taken by them, they, with their companions fifty-eight in number, abandoned their degrees ra-

ther than submit to it, except they might put their own construction upon it, which was not allowed. It was God's grace that helped them to be sufferers betimes for conscience' sake; this was extraordinary in youths naturally so eager for honour. Since their return home I find them religiously inclined, which is evinced by their sober conduct, their willingness to go to days of fasting and prayer, the feelings they manifest in the duty, their serious conversation, and their love of good company."

July 15th, 1677, Mr. John Heywood was admitted a member of the church at Northowram, of which his father was the pastor. He remained at home from the time of his return from Scotland, preaching occasionally as opportunities offered. He is said to have taught at a school in Kirkheaton, but it must have been during only a few months. He went to reside at John Hey's in Gisburn parish, Sept. 20, 1678, to preach to a few persons who assembled for worship in that retired neighbourhood as circumstances permitted; "to a people," says Mr. O. Heywood, "to whom I have a special relation." How long he continued in this situation is not certain, but probably only a short time. Afterwards he went to be chaplain to Lady Wilbraham in Cheshire, but on account of her death which took place a short time after his entrance on his office, he returned to his father's house. Here he followed his studies under his father's direction, preaching in various places as he had opportunity, to the great satisfaction of many of God's people.

Having expressed an earnest desire to be set apart to the work of the ministry in a regular manner by ordination, it was agreed that several ministers should meet for this purpose at John Hey's, being the place at which he had most frequently preached. Mr. O. Heywood has left the following account of the service: "Aug. 23, 1681, we went to John Hey's in Craven. Mr. Jessot began with prayer and continued about an hour. Then we appointed my son John to preach, who gave us a handsome, well compacted discourse on Matt. v. 14, "Ye are the light of the world." He prayed sensibly, and having gone through that service, Mr. Frankland examined him; first demanding his testimonials. He produced five. One from our christian friends at Coley, (of which church he is a member) subscribed by nine or ten hands. Another from Morley, by as many. Another from Warley, by as many. A fourth from Lidget, sent by James Armitage. Another from Nath. Bottomley: in all which places he had conversed and frequently preached, testifying his ministerial abilities, soundness of faith, pious conversation, and therewith signifying their desires that he might be set apart to the work of the ministry; which Mr.

Frankland and all the rest judged to be full and satisfactory. I asked J. Hey and R. Mitchell what they had to object, and they told me they were well satisfied. It was thought fit that the testimonials should be left in J. Hey's hands. Mr. F. then proceeded to examine him in logic, philosophy, history, chronology, &c. and then ordered him to read his thesis in Latin on this question: An Episcopus sit qui Presbiter? (Whether a bishop be the same as a presbyter?) He read a long discourse affirming it. Messrs. Dawson and Jessot framed arguments against it. This work continued till five o'clock, then we refreshed ourselves and parted. We appointed to begin again at eight o'clock next morning, when we met to consummate and solemnize the work. Mr. Dawson began with prayer for about an hour, and God did graciously help him to bewail his own and ministers' sins, which had thrust us out of public work that day nineteen years ago, and which have kept us out so long. God wonderfully drew out his heart in pleading for our restoration, for the church and nation, and for my children particularly. Then I went to prayer, and God did surprisingly enlarge my heart in all these concerns for about an hour and a half. O what a melting season it was! I told the Lord he was welcome to me and all that I had, to use as he pleased, so that we might be to his glory. I told him I had given my sons to him in baptism in their infancy, and many times on my knees since, tendered them to him in his special service, and never yet repented of the loan; yea, I had given them to the Lord, and judged it a greater honour that they should convert souls, than to be princes to rule over men; and I hope God has accepted this deed of gift, because he enlarged my heart and influenced me with love and tenderness. After this, Mr. F. desired my son to make a confession of his faith, which he did according to the method in the creed, with much accuracy and brevity. Then he asked him concerning his end in undertaking the ministry, his resolution to adhere to it, &c. proceeding next to the imposition of hands; my son kneeling down and Mr. F. praying about half an hour with much seriousness, after which we gave him the right hand of fellowship. Then Mr. Dawson, in room of an exhortation to him, preached us an honest sermon, suitable to the occasion from 2 Tim. ii. 15; it was a very plain, pertinent, and profitable discourse. After that he went to prayer, sung a psalm, and pronounced a blessing. We finished this exercise about two o'clock, because Mr. Frankland was to go away that night. When we had dined other people came, and from four to six o'clock I preached to them on Psalm xliv. 17; God helped. Mr. Jessot drew up a paper, to which we four subscribed our hands, that on Aug

24, 1681, we, having received satisfaction concerning John Heywood by testimonials, and having taken a proof of his abilities by preaching, praying, and various parts of learning, have solemnly set him apart with fasting, and prayer, and imposition of hands to the work of the ministry. Thus far in this affair, and he is the eighth person on whom I have laid hands in this dark and dead period: blessed be God. May Aaron's rod further blossom and produce still more fruit. Lord, grant a supply and a full restitution."

During the greater part of the following winter, Mr. J. Heywood preached in Craven, but not meeting with sufficient encouragement in his work he returned home May 26, 1682. In June this year he accompanied his brother Eliezer to London, where he had many opportunities of preaching. On one of these occasions a gentleman who had heard him was so much pleased with his discourse, that he followed him to his lodgings and asked him if he would become chaplain to his brother-in-law, who resided a short distance in the country. This led to his accepting the office of chaplain to Mr. Marsh of Garson, four miles from St. Alban's, Hertfordshire.

He entered on his work in this place, Aug. 17, 1682, and when he had been there a few weeks, he thus addressed his father in a letter: "Dearest Father, at my coming to London yesterday with our gentlefolks, I found your letter ready to give me a good welcome to town, and I can only in requital testify my grateful acceptance, and give you a brief yet as full an answer to its contents, as my short stay in town and the subject admit of. The all-wise Governor and our covenanted God and guide, hath graciously, in answer to prayers, found out some employ in this country for a worthless worm, and given me (which I highly prize) room in the hearts and affections of his praying servants. He has helped me, by faith and prayer, to commit my concerns to him, and almost beyond hopes found me out a godly, well-ordered family to be in, and inclined their hearts, beyond my deserts, to give me kind entertainment and respect, insomuch that though I had some intention to have given you a visit before my fixing here, yet they seem with a kind of backward willingness to speak of it, lest (as they express it) something should obviate my return. As winter is drawing on, the roads being bad, and the journey chargeable, I shall with your leave defer it, and order my brother to send up some things for me. We have resolved, God willing, to spend a year together. I shall have sufficient work: I am to preach twice on the Lord's day, catechize the servants, and, now that nights are growing long, expound and analyze a part of scripture every night. We

have a pretty company on Lord's days, and our number increases daily, the doors being open to all. We have able, good old Christians, and we had a very sweet, heart-melting opportunity at a private day (so called) on public and private accounts last Thursday; God mercifully helped me in prayer and preaching, and some three or four private Christians in prayer. Bless God on our behalf, I mean, let God alone have the glory, and beg for me a suitable and profiting heart. My work is likely to increase; pray hard that divine grace and strength may be multiplied."

On the receipt of this letter, his grateful father thus expressed his feelings: "Who or what am I that my child, after all his tossings and temptations, should be so comfortably settled? Who am I that I should have a son of such parts? But because he hath such notable gifts, God hath taken strange ways to humble him and bring him low. He needed, and I needed these humbling providences. God hath thereby awakened conscience, and stirred up strong cries and tears in both. He hath spent whole nights in humbling his soul, and wrestling with God. It may be, all his dejections, temptations, and afflictions are to prepare him for mercy. I have given up myself and children to the Lord; let him use me and mine where and how he pleaseth. If God may be glorified, his church edified, and souls converted and saved by me and them, I have all and enough. Who knows what use God may make of my child in the south? If I never see him again in this world I am content; may he but serve his generation according to the will of God, and may I meet him in heaven with a train of souls brought to God by his faithful labours!"

In a letter received by his father about six or seven weeks after the preceding, Mr. John Heywood says: "We, through mercy, are yet quiet though threatened. God hath been pleased to settle me in a retired place, where I have great conveniency for private meditation and study. My work is fully as much or more than I shall be able to continue to go through, though God is able to strengthen me both inwardly and outwardly. I think it good to be free from the crowd and temptations of the world. O beg that God would give me a better heart, willing to improve advantages in order to future services. Let me have the help of your prayers, that our breathings one for another may often meet before the Lord. God hath and doth help me to lie before him and look back into my life. O the sweet hours I have had in secret with my best friend! God help me to maintain communion with himself, and I shall do well: he will not fail."

Whilst at Garson, Mr. J. Heywood occasionally preached for Mr. Grew at St. Alban's, to whose congregation his services were acceptable. On one of these occasions, three Justices, three constables, and four soldiers came to disturb the congregation. They attempted to gain admission at the front gate, but not being able, went round to a back part of the building in which the people were assembled. In the meantime, Mr. H. was let down by a trap-door to a place of concealment, and the people rushed out at the front and made their escape. He received a visit from his father in December this year, who was much pleased with his son's situation.

July 14, 1683, his father received a letter from him, in which he thus writes: "Dearest father, since by the decree of heaven our personal absence is continued, I cannot but be frequently sending to you (as by heaven's way) in prayer for a blessing upon you and your incessant labours, so also by these paper messengers. Here I am yet, though I almost long to be with you, unless Providence find me out some work; as who knows what God may do? He hath raised me up many friends that are very desirous of my settlement here, and are using all their interest, that if it be the will of God, I may continue near them. I cannot but with tenderness take notice how solicitous some are, whom I never knew before, far above my deserts or expectations. I desire to be at the disposal of a wise and gracious God. I preached last Lord's day for Mr. Grew, and we were quiet; blessed be God. I am to preach for him also next Lord's day. Men threaten and are highly incensed; what their rage may do and how it may vent itself, God knows. God help me to bear my witness, and to keep the word of his patience."

The above extract contains an intimation that there was some probability of his removal, which soon afterwards happened. Mr. Marsh, declining housekeeping, no longer needed Mr. Heywood's services, so that he remained at Garson not much more than a year, and in November 1683 became chaplain to Lady Hatton of London, a member of Mr. T. Watson's church. Mr. Rich. Stretton, who at this time was a prisoner in Newgate for preaching the gospel, earnestly recommended Mr. H. to accept this invitation. Several interesting letters passed between Lady Hatton and O. Heywood, concerning his son's settlement in her family, in one of which she says: "I find you are willing to have your son in my family. I must conclude with you, and believe there is more than an ordinary providence in it, because I am sure I have been offered twenty, and could never fix till now. All I have to desire of you is,

that you will add your good counsel and prayers that God may make him a blessing to me and mine, which I am sure is your hearty desire and ever shall be the earnest prayer of your loving friend, LUCY HATTON."

Mr. John Heywood entered Lady Hatton's family, Nov. 6, 1683. He was much respected by her, as appears from the following extract of a letter she wrote to his father, when he had been with her about three or four months: "Your great acknowledgments of my respect for your son, I thank you for; but you may be assured that his prudent deportment and good conversation merit respect both from me and mine. That large share which he hath in the affections of my children, is a great contentment to my mind; for indeed I have no greater joy than to find my children walking in the truth, and following the examples of wise and good men in the midst of this perverse and wicked generation. I hope the longer he continues in my family, the more experience I shall have of the benefit of his prayers and good advice." His continuance, however, in this family was only about nine months, for attending her Ladyship on a visit to her son's in Cambridgeshire, where he was much exposed to company, he was on one occasion overcome by liquor. Having by this fall injured his character and influence, it was deemed most proper that he should leave the family. He returned home to his father for a few weeks, who became satisfied of the sincerity of his repentance.

Mr. Westby of Ravenfield near Rotherham, being in want of a tutor for his son, applied to Mr. John Heywood, who entered on his office Nov. 18, 1684, having been committed to the care and blessing of God, with many prayers and tears, by his father the evening before. In this family he acted not only as a tutor but chaplain, and occasionally preached in neighbouring places. When accompanying Mr. Westby to attend the high sheriff at York, in the March assizes 1692, he was taken so alarmingly ill that for a few days he was considered in a very dangerous state, but at length God blessed the means, and he returned to Ravenfield.

When the Dissenters at Rotherham, encouraged by the liberty of worship enjoyed under the Toleration Act, had taken a convenient place for their meetings, they united in an invitation to Mr. J. Heywood to become their minister, which he accepted in March 1693. During his ministry the congregation increased, and, as Ravenfield was only three miles from Rotherham, he continued to reside at Mr. Westby's till his marriage with Miss Elizabeth Stacey, Oct. 3, 1694.

About two years after he had become the minister at Rotherham, he received a pressing invitation from the Dissenting congregation at Pontefract, to which place he removed in the spring of 1695, and continued his ministry here till his death, which took place in his father-in-law's house, Balifield near Sheffield, Sept. 3, 1704, in the forty-ninth year of his age, and was buried at Hansworth. Mrs. Elizabeth Heywood remained a widow, and died April 15, 1720. They had three children. Timothy, who was born at Pontefract Dec. 13, 1695, commenced business as an apothecary in Sheffield, and died Sept. 24, 1717, only six days after his marriage. Elizabeth their daughter died March 21, 1718, and Bridget died young.

MEMOIR

OF

MR. ELIEZER HEYWOOD,

SECOND SON OF THE

REV. OLIVER HEYWOOD.

Mr. Eliezer Heywood was born April 18th, 1657, exactly that day twelve-months after the birth of his brother. When about a year old, he was suddenly taken so very ill, that he was for a short time supposed to be dead, but speedily revived a little, and the next day the small-pox appeared. At a very tender age, he and his brother were, on special occasions, encouraged by their father to engage in prayer, in the family. When Eliezer was questioned by his father at a solemn meeting for prayer, what he desired God's servants should pray for, on behalf of himself and brother? he replied: "that God would give them grace and gifts, forgive their sins of childhood and loss of time, make them studious, and keep them from temptation and sinful company."

Eliezer and his brother were instructed by the same masters, were students together at Mr. Frankland's, and finished their education in Scotland. Whilst at Natland, under Mr. Frankland's instruction, Eliezer had a narrow escape from a watery grave whilst bathing with some of his fellow-students. He had gone into a deep place where he was taken over head, but lift-

ing up his hand, part of which was seen above the water, Mr. Timothy Jollie came to his help and rescued him.

After he had completed his studies and returned home, he was received into church-fellowship at Northowram, Dec. 30th, 1677. He went to be chaplain to Major Taylor, of Walling-wells, Nottinghamshire, on the borders of Derbyshire, Sept. 9th, 1678, and though this gentleman died March 29th in the next year, Mr. E. Heywood continued tutor and chaplain in the family twenty-two years. On occasion of this settlement, his father made the following remarks: "My sons are now parted who have lived together as twins. It went sore with them to be separated, but being now grown men they better understand their work and interest, and so are willing to be parted, though with much difficulty and many tears. Blessed be God for this reciprocal working of fraternal love, so that herein that saying is not verified, *Fratrum concordia rara est.* God has knit their hearts together by nature, and I hope by grace. They are parted that lived as brethren; and death will part us all. Blessed be God for hopes of a delightful and satisfying meeting in heaven. They are parted; so did I and my dear brother part, though we had lived together at school, at Cambridge, and in one house some time when we were ministers at neighbouring places; at last we parted almost forty miles distant; and now we are parted by death, as will be the case with them. O how fresh doth this their parting bring to my remembrance those sad separations of my amiable brother and myself; for I may truly say, our hearts were extraordinarily endeared to each other. But how will our souls be transported at our next meeting! Blessed be God for this hope. My sons are gone from me, but not without my leave and approbation, nay, to my abundant content and satisfaction; it might have been otherwise. They are gone with my blessing and prayers."

In travelling to his father's house, Jan. 1680, he was suddenly taken ill with ague-fits, at Derby, and was obliged to remain there a short time, before he could be removed. In September also, the same year, he was so ill at Walling-wells, that he was occasionally insensible, and was for a time supposed to be near death.* This illness continued three or four weeks and left him in a very weak state; but after he had visited his father, he so far recovered as to be able to return to his work in the beginning of December. Still he did not recover his wonted strength, and in September the next year, he had a return of his complaint, though not so severe as the former.

* See page 215.

At the time his father, Mr. O. Heywood, was a prisoner at York Castle, he heard that his son Eliezer was very ill, so that when he wrote to enquire concerning him, he did not know whether the letter would find him dead or alive; but a few days afterwards he received the following intelligence from his son: "My God hath done great things for me, and I desire to admire and adore him as a God hearing-prayer. He was pleased in a great measure to prevent fears, and though I had the symptoms of a malignant fever, by which many hereabouts have been snatched away, God was pleased of his goodness to direct to means which were successful soon after its beginning, and now, praise be given to his holy name, I am pretty well again, and was yesterday at the funeral of a lusty person who had died of the same disorder. O the distinguishing providences of God! I am not altogether without hope that God may have some work to do by me: blessed be God. That same day, Nov. 10th, 1685, I was enabled to pay my grateful vows."

During Mr. Eliezer Heywood's residence at Walling-wells, he occasionally preached elsewhere, besides his stated labours in the family, and when King James's declaration for liberty of worship came forth, he desired Presbyterian ordination. According to his wish, he with three others, was ordained at his father's house, June 1st, 1687, concerning which his father thus writes: "I had devoted my two sons, which was my all, to the work of the ministry, and desired nothing else for them but a principle of saving grace, useful gifts to fit them for that high calling, a regular entrance into it, a fit opportunity for faithfully managing it, and success therein. In most of these, God hath answered me according to the desire of my heart. I hope God hath given them grace, competency of gifts, and John a regular entrance into the ministry some years ago. June 1, 1687, my son Eliezer having been examined in all parts of learning, disputing in Latin, &c. was set apart to the ministry, with fasting, and prayer, and imposition of hands, to the great satisfaction of all present. Blessed, blessed be God, that he hath counted me and mine faithful, putting us into the ministry. It is more to me than if they had been made knights or created barons of the realm, with proportionable estates. God is welcome to them, to make what use he pleaseth of them, and though they are yet in gentlemen's houses, as chaplains, yet I humbly hope, and wait, and pray that the Lord will call them forth among his people, and bless their labours to the good of souls."

January 18, 1700, Mr. Eliezer Heywood was married at Hansworth, to Helen, daughter of Mr. John Rotheram, of

Dronfield in Derbyshire. On this occasion, the family at Walling-wells, as a token of their esteem for him, and his long services, made him a very handsome present. He appears to to have continued his connection with this family, after his marriage, two or three years. His first child, called Oliver, was born March 8th, 1701, but lived only six or seven days.* About this time he commenced housekeeping at Carlton, near Walling-wells. He removed to Dronfield, in 1703, or 1704, and preached there to a small congregation till within a short period of his death. He was the father of eight children, some of whom died in infancy. He buried his wife August 26, 1712, having followed to the grave his eldest daughter, only five weeks before. He remained a widower the rest of his days. Mr. E. Heywood died at Dronfield, June 12, 1730, aged seventy-three. The following is a copy of the inscription on a tablet in Dronfield church :—

ELIEZER HEYWOOD, A. M.
Fide et Vitâ Theologus
(Oliveri Fil: et Johan: Fra: A. M.
Utriusq: ex paternâ et maternâ Gente
Vere Evangelici:)
Moribus sanctis, et pari Modestiâ Imitandus
Ardentissimoq: Docendi Studio Suspiciendus
Hic Jacet Reconditus.
Obiit A. XII Cal: Junii A. D. MDCCXXX,
Ætat: Suæ LXXIII.
Non ita procul hinc Occubat Helen Uxor
Sui dilectissima VIII. liberorum Mater
Ex eodem Conjugio, ex quibus filius
Unicus et Duæ filiæ superstites.

Mr. Eliezer Heywood was succeeded at Dronfield as pastor of the dissenting congregation there, by the Rev. Samuel Shaw, who afterwards removed to Mansfield and died there in 1748. Eliezer Heywood, (the grandson of O. Heywood,) son of the above, was born at Dronfield, Oct. 8, 1710, and educated by Mr. Wadsworth, dissenting minister at Sheffield. In 1729, he went to London, and was under the tuition of Dr. Ridgley. His father's declining health caused him to leave London in March 1730; he married the daughter of Mr. Shaw, the successor of his father at Dronfield, and succeeded him at Mansfield. He died much respected, July 22, 1783, aged seventy-three, having been minister at Mansfield thirty-three years.

Mr. Samuel Heywood, son of the above, town clerk of Nottingham, died greatly lamented, July 25, 1789, aged thirty-four. Some of the family still survive, and remain at Mansfield justly esteemed.

* See Letters, IV. and V.

CONCLUSION.

In the Pedigree of the Heywood family, it is stated, that Mr. Richard Heywood, son of the Rev. Nathaniel Heywood, of Ormskirk, was of Liverpool, but since that part of the volume went through the Press, the Editor has ascertained that Mr. Richard Heywood removed from Liverpool, and settled at Drogheda in Ireland. During his residence there, he solicited his brother Nathaniel, that he would send over his son Benjamin when he had finished his education, and place him under his care; accordingly he was sent, and became very successful in business; though he was cut off in the prime of life, being only thirty years of age when he died, he left his family in affluent circumstances.

When Mr. Heywood, the ejected minister of Ormskirk, had been arrested by the disease which brought him to the grave, and was on his death bed, he seems to have had no little concern for his beloved partner and their children, exposed to the rigours of persecution, (see page 498,) but he was enabled to commit them to the care of Him, who is the father of the fatherless, and the husband of the widow, and was encouraged to hope that the guardianship of heaven would not fail them. And his anticipations appear to have been realized, for the smiles of Providence singularly distinguished his descendants.

For the following Letter the Writer is indebted to J. P. Heywood, of Wakefield, Esq. to whom he takes this opportunity of making grateful acknowledgments for his patronage, and the original documents he has kindly furnished to mature this Publication.

Transcript of a Letter from Mr. Richard Heywood, of Drogheda, to his brother Nathaniel.

DEAREST BROTHER, *Drogheda, the 1st Feb.* 1699.

I received yours of the 27th November; it lay a great while at Liverpool, the wind proving contrary; but it was very welcome when it did come. I make no question but the account of my safety was very grateful to you. I do wish, and am encouraged to hope, that patience under your grievances, accompanied with serious diligence in the performance of your

duty—in that great work wherein it hath pleased God to give you some success, (which you ought not to be unthankful for,) will in the event meet with God's favourable acceptance, and occasion your present and everlasting joy. So, dear brother, go on, maugre all the temptations of the Seducer of mankind, or the doubts of your own mind, which is the frailty of your constitution, and the God of heaven bless you, and all yours in the Lord Jesus Christ. I do desire your favourable construction of my deportment whilst in England, for if I did not express that heartiness of respect, of which I am sure I am truly possessed, (as also being well assured of yours,) the occasion was the sad circumstances of sister Park; but now in our letters to each other, and especially in our prayers for each other, let our mutual affection be expressed—and let us still hope in God.

I thank Sister for her kind remembrance, to whom pray make my respects and service acceptable—remember me also to little Benjamin and Natty; I know I need not urge your care about Benjamin, to prepare him with writing a good hand, and learning to cast up accounts well, and improvement in his Latin during his stay with you—nor do I need to mention that which is your chief concern, and which indeed is most requisite, that you endeavour to instil such principles of true religion into his mind, as may be of happy consequence to him in the conduct of temporal affairs, and such as taking early possession of his thoughts, affections and practice, may prevent the vanity of the world, the corruptions of nature, or subtle suggestions of Satan from assaulting him—or prevailing over him—that so, by the grace of God, they may be of important use in reference to his everlasting comfort and salvation. When I would have him come over, I will write; I suppose in the summer will be most convenient and safe. Excuse my tediousness, I am,

Your very affectionate Brother,

RICH. HEYWOOD.

Copy of the Presentation of the Vicarage of Ormskirk to the Rev. NATHANIEL HEYWOOD, a Fac-simile of which taken from the Original is given in this volume.

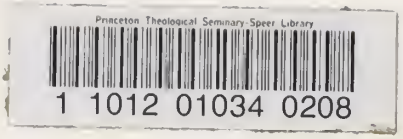
CHARLOTTE, Countess of Derby, the true and undoubted Patroness of the Vicarage of Ormskirk, in the County Palatine of Lancaster, unto the honourable the Commissioners for appro-

bation and admission of public Preachers, sendeth greeting in our Lord God everlasting. I do present unto you to be admitted unto the Vicarage of Ormskirk aforesaid, being now void, my well beloved in Christ Nathaniel Heywood, minister of God's word, humbly desiring that the said Nathaniel Heywood may be by you admitted unto the said Vicarage with its rights, members and appurtenances. And that you will be pleased to do whatsoever shall be requisite in that behalf for the making him, the said Nathaniel Heywood, Vicar of the Church of Ormskirk aforesaid, according to the late ordinance in that case made and provided. In Witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and seal, the seventh day of August, in the year of our Lord God one thousand six hundred fifty and six.

DERBY.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

J. VINT, PRINTER, IDLE.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